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Art. I. *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, performed in the Years 1819, 1820, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Major S. H. Long, of the U. S. Top. Engineers. Compiled from the Notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say, and other Gentlemen of the Party, by Edwin James, Botanist and Geologist to the Expedition. In three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1048. [Plates.] Price 11. 16s. London. 1823.

THIS publication is a reprint, though not so announced, of the American edition of the work. We cannot say much in favour of the style in which it has been got up. The plates* are but indifferent, and the three volumes might easily have been comprised in two of moderate size, with a reduction of the price to the public. We might, however, have been visited with a still more costly volume in quarto, and ought, perhaps, on this account, to applaud the forbearance of the publishers, in bringing out the work in its present form.

The Expedition of which an account is here given, does honour to the American Government, and to the gentlemen to whom its execution was confided. Although not equal in interest or in the importance of its results, to that undertaken by Captains Lewis and Clarke in 1804—6., it has added considerably to our knowledge of the country west of the Mississippi. The Expedition embarked on board of the U. S. steam-

* Mr. Seymour, the artist appointed to accompany the Expedition, is stated to have taken one hundred and fifty landscape views, of which sixty have been finished. Only eight, however, are given in the London edition.

boat *Western Engineer*, at Pittsburgh, on the 4th of May, 1819, and descending the Ohio to its confluence with the Mississippi, proceeded up the latter river to the Missouri, which they ascended, though with considerable difficulty, to the point designated by the name of Council Bluff. Here, at a spot to which they gave the name of Engineer Cantonment, they established their winter quarters in the immediate neighbourhood of a variety of Indian tribes who frequent the upper course of the Missouri; and during the ensuing winter, they had opportunities of acquiring extensive information respecting the manners, customs, and character of the natives in this quarter. Major Long, in the mean time, returned to Virginia. On his way back, early in the ensuing spring, he pursued a course overland north of the Missouri, from near its mouth to the cantonment at Council Bluff, taking sketches of this unexplored tract of country. On the 6th of June, the whole party proceeded on their march to explore the great wilderness which extends to the base of the Rocky Mountains, the ultimate object of their enterprise. In the mean time, the steam-boat, under the command of Lieut. Graham, after descending the Missouri to St. Louis, was to explore the Mississippi to the De Moyen rapids, and then, descending the river to Cape Girardeau, to await the return of the Expedition.

The exploring party proceeded westwardly to the Pawnee villages, situated on a branch of the Platte, called the Loup fork; thence southward to the Platte, which they pursued to the place where it issues from the Rocky Mountains. Finding the country at that point too hilly and broken to admit of their penetrating with horses within their range, they then shaped their course southward along the base of the mountains, occasionally ascending the peaks and spurs whenever a favourable opportunity offered, till they reached the Arkansa. They descended this river about one hundred miles. The party then separated into two detachments; one, under the direction of Captain Bell, proceeding along the Arkansa, while the other, under Major Long, struck through the wilderness in a southerly direction for the Red River. After proceeding about a hundred miles, the latter party arrived at a creek, having a southerly course, which they supposed to be tributary to Red River; and after travelling down its valley about two hundred miles, they fell in with a party of Indians who gave them to understand, that the stream they were pursuing was that river. It proved to be, to their no small disappointment, the Canadian River, which flows into the Arkansa. The season was now too far advanced, even had they been in a condition to retrace their steps in quest of the

source of Red River; this part of their object, therefore, they were compelled for the present to abandon. Both parties arrived within four days of each other, at the point of rendezvous on the Arkansa, whence they proceeded in a north-easterly direction to Cape Girardeau, and arrived there on the 10th of October, having occupied a little more than four months in their arduous adventure after leaving Council Bluff.

In ascending the Missouri, the wonderful progress of enterprise exhibited itself in the establishment of infant settlements on its banks as high as Fort Osage. The town of St. Charles, the first settlement after entering that river, owing to the failure of the Indian trade, had not advanced in size since it was visited by Lewis and Clarke; but many substantial brick buildings had been added. Higher up, at the confluence of the Gasconade and the Missouri, is placed 'a projected town.' Opposite the lower mouth of the Osage is situated the little village of Cote Sans Dessein, containing about thirty families, mostly French, and boasting of 'a tavern, a store, a black-smith's shop, and a *billiard table*.' At the upper mouth of the Osage river, another town has been 'located,' and the lots have been disposed of at St. Louis at various prices.

' Nashville, Smithton, Rectorsville, and numerous other towns of similar character and name, containing from one to half a dozen houses each, are to be met within a few miles above the Little Manitou Rocks. Almost every settler who has established himself on the Missouri, is confidently expecting that his farm is, in a few years, to become the seat of wealth and business, and the mart for an extensive district.' Vol. I. p. 80.

That is, always by leave of the Missouri itself; for, in some parts of its course, the condition of a farm on the banks of this impetuous stream, is somewhat precarious. A portion of the bank near Point Labidee, which was covered with the plantation of a farmer from Virginia, had lately fallen into the river, carrying with it part of a fine wheat-field, and the dwelling house and other buildings seemed destined to follow. Franklin, the seat of justice for Howard county, is described as occupying a site not less untenable.

' It stands on a low and recent alluvial plain, and has behind it a small stagnant creek. The bed of the river near the shore has been heretofore obstructed by sand-bars, which prevented large boats from approaching the town: whether this evil will increase or diminish, it is not possible to determine; such is the want of stability in every thing belonging to the channel of the Missouri. It is even doubtful whether the present site of Franklin will not, at some future day, be occupied by the river, which appears to be at this time encroach-

ing on its banks. Similar changes have happened in the short period since the establishment of the first settlements on the Missouri. The site of St. Anthony, a town which existed about thirteen years since, near Bon Homme, is now occupied by the channel of the river.* p. 83.

Yet, Franklin is described as increasing more rapidly than any other town on the Missouri. It had been commenced but two years and a half at the time of the Author's visit, and then contained about 120 log-houses of one story, several framed dwellings of two stories, two of brick, thirteen sale-shops, two smith's shops, two large team-mills, four taverns, *two billiard rooms*, a court-house, *a log-prison of two stories*, a post-office, and *a printing-press issuing a weekly paper*. Wheat fetched one dollar per bushel, and the price of labour was 75 cents per day. We know not whether the name of this settlement constitutes one of its attractions. The almost inexhaustible fertility of the soil, is the consideration which probably outweighs, in the minds of the settlers, the disadvantages of the situation; the same motive which is strong enough, among us in the old world, to induce the Sicilian peasant to fix his home on the yet heaving sides of Etna. In 1816, thirty families only of whites were settled on the left side of the Missouri above Cote Sans Dessein. In three years, their numbers had increased to 800 families. Charaton, situated on the river of the same name, about 700 yards from its mouth, contained at this time about 60 houses and near 500 inhabitants, 'on a spot where, two years previous, no permanent habitation had been established.' Such,' remarks Dr. James, 'is the rapidity with which the forests of the Missouri are becoming filled with an enterprising and industrious population.' Fort Osage is estimated to be about one hundred and forty miles higher up the river than Charaton. This is *at present*, or was at the period of the Expedition, the extreme frontier of the settlements. For a great distance below, the establishments were confined to the immediate banks of the Missouri.

* About thirteen miles above the Grand Pass, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke witnessed the falling in of a portion of high cliff, composed of sandstone and clay, about three quarters of a mile in length. At the time of the Expedition's visit, the whole was covered with grass, and the river had retired from the base of the cliff which it was before undermining. A grassy plain, of some extent, occupied what must once have been the bed of the river; but this 'prairie' was in its turn experiencing the vicissitude incident to every thing along the bank of the Missouri, and has probably by this time disappeared. Cliffs of sandstone and clay were observed a mile or two above this point, also in a state of rapid disintegration.

'The inhabitants of this frontier,' says the Author, 'are mostly emigrants from Tennessee, and are hospitable to strangers. Many of them are possessed of considerable wealth. In the inhabitants of the New States and Territories, there is a manifest propensity, particularly in the males, to remove westward, for which it is not easy to account. The women, having their attention directed almost exclusively to domestic pursuits, form local attachments, and establish habits, which are not interrupted without occasioning some disquietude. They are at first discontented in their new abode; in a few weeks they become reconciled, but less attached than to their former home; and at length, by the habit of frequent migration, they acquire the same fondness for an adventurous, unsettled life, as characterises the men.'

'Daniel Boon, whose history is connected with that of all the new settlements from Kentucky westward, answered to an inquiry concerning the cause of his frequent change of residence, "I think it time to remove, when I can no longer fall a tree for fuel, so that its top will lie within a few yards of the door of my cabin." The charms of that mode of life wherein the artificial wants and the uneasy restraints inseparable from a crowded population are not known, wherein we feel ourselves dependent immediately and solely on the bounty of nature and the strength of our own arm, will not be appreciated by those to whom they are known only from description, though they never fail to make an impression upon such as have acquired a knowledge of them from experience. A settler on the Missouri observed to us, that the land he at present occupied was not better than that he had left in Tennessee; but he did not wish to spend all his life in one place, and he had learned from experience, that a man might live in greater ease and freedom where his neighbours were not very numerous. A person upwards of sixty years old, who had recently arrived at one of the highest settlements of the Missouri, inquired of us very particularly of the river Platte, and of the quality of the lands about its source. We discovered that he had the most serious intention of removing with his family to that river.' Vol. I. pp. 97, 8.

A little above the Konzas river, a party of *white hunters* were found encamped on the bank of the Missouri. In the rudeness of their dress and of their deportment, they struck the Narrator as surpassing the native savages. 'They are usually,' he remarks, 'the most abandoned and worthless among the whites, who adopt the life of wandering hunters: frequently they are men whose crimes have excluded them from society.' One would think that this account of things, coming as it does from an American, might be sufficient to deter Europeans from going in search of golden crops in the Western prairies. The genuine backwoodsman is indigenous to the American soil: he has as distinct characteristics as the Indian, with whom, indeed, he has more in common than with civilized man. The Englishman is naturally a domestic animal; his local attach-

iments are strong ; he is not made for a nomade, much less for a solitary wanderer. But these 'white hunters' are fit pioneers for civilization. They are followed by the land-jobbers and roving planters, who are but one *grade* higher in the scale of social existence ; to them quickly succeed that enterprising class of omnium merchants, the keepers of stores. A tavern, a billiard-room, a court-house, a prison, and a printing-press are successively added in the order of the wants of the new settlement. The last want that is felt, and that which is last supplied, appears to be a place for public worship. We do not mention this as peculiar to the American territories ; it is, we apprehend, much the same in our own Colonies.

For many miles on each side of the Missouri, the prairies are stated to afford abundance of good pasturage ; but the best soil is found along the western bank from ten to twelve miles in breadth. In the summer, very little water is to be found in the prairies, all the smaller streams failing, even though the season be not unusually dry ; and 'on account of the want of 'wood and of water,' Dr. James states, 'the settlements will 'be for a long time confined to the immediate valleys of the 'Missouri, the Konzas, and the larger rivers.' In ascending the Konzas, indications were observed at the distance of only one hundred and twenty miles from the Missouri, both in the soil and in the animal and vegetable productions, of an approach to the borders of the Great Sandy Desert which stretches eastward from the base of the Rocky Mountains. We shall here throw into as compressed a form as possible, the substance of the information contained in the present volumes, relative to the Indian tribes frequenting the districts watered by the Missouri and its tributaries. Those of whom the fullest account is given, are the Omawhaws. The other tribes with whom the party came in contact, are the Osages, Konzas, and Puncaws, whose dialect is nearly the same as that of the Omawhaws ; the Otoes, Missouris, and Ioways, who also have a language in common, slightly differing only in the pronunciation, and closely allied to that of the Osages, &c. ; the three tribes of Pawnees, the Minnetarees, the Sioux, the Sauks, and the Ietans.

The physiological character of the Missouri Indian differs considerably, not only from the Carib, but from the native of Canada, of Florida, and of New Spain. In form, he is symmetrical, not by any means of a squat make, and equal in stature to the ordinary European standard ; though the squaw is somewhat shorter and more thick-bodied, with a broader face than the male. The forehead retires remarkably, and the posterior part of the head has a flattened appearance, pro-

bably attributable to the pressure of the board or scarcely less yielding pad to which the infant is bound. The facial angle of the cranium, taken by Blumenbach at 73 degrees, was found in several specimens to give an average of 78 degrees: a Wabash male 78°., female 80°., and a Cherokee only 75°. As to the races to whom our Author's observations relate, he states in general terms, that 'the western Indian certainly possesses a greater verticality of profile,' than the Carib Indian. The line of the eyes is 'nearly rectilinearly transverse, being in this respect intermediate between the arcuated line of the eyes of the white man, and that of the Indians of New Spain, who, according to Humboldt, have the corner of the eye directed upward toward the temples.' The nose is generally prominent, either aquiline or Roman; the lips more tumid than those of the White American, but very far less so than those of the negro; the lower jaw large and robust; the chin well formed; the cheek bones prominent, but not angular, as in the Mongul; the expression of the countenance austere, often ferocious. The colour of their skin, as well in those parts of the body shielded from the sun, as in the face, is 'that of the skin of smoked bacon-ham.' In walking, they preserve a perfectly upright carriage, without any thing of the swinging gait common among the whites, and step with their feet in a parallel direction: they say, that turning out the toes, as well as turning them inward, is a disadvantageous mode of walking through high grass or narrow paths. They often tattoo their persons neatly, in straight lines and angles, on the breast, neck, and arms. They discover but little mechanical ingenuity, their skill not extending beyond the manufacture of war-clubs, rude saddles, hair ropes, stone pipes, wooden bowls, horn spoons, and various personal ornaments. The squaws make mockasins and leggings variously ornamented, handsome necklaces, wrought with beads of different colours, strung on red silk or thread coloured with vermillion, and garters of the breadth of the hand, formed also of beads strung on worsted. Their notions of sculpture are confined to the rude indentations of the war-club. Their culinary utensils are few and simple.

'The original earthenware pots,' says Mr. James, 'are now rarely used by the nations on the lower part of the Missouri, being substituted by brass kettles, which they procure from the traders in exchange for their peltries. The Pawnees, however, whose intercourse with the whites has been less considerable than that of the nations bordering more closely on the Missouri, still employ earthen vessels, and yet continue the limited manufacture of them. These vessels are not glazed, and resemble in composition the antique frag-

ments of Indian earthenware, found in various parts of the United States; the mementos of a numerous people, that have been destroyed by obscure causes, as well as by the avaricious policy, and cruelly unjust and barbarous encroachments of a people professing the mild doctrines of "peace on earth and good-will to men."

Food is served up in wooden bowls, of a very wide and simple form, and of various sizes, generally carved, with much patient application, out of a large knot or protuberance of the side of a tree. The spoon is made of bison horn, and is of a large size; the handle, variously ornamented by notching and other rude carving, is elevated into an angle of fifty or sixty degrees with its bowl, which is about three inches wide, by about five in length; a size which, in civilised life, would be inadmissible.

The only implement of husbandry is the hoe; if they have not an iron one, they substitute the scapula of a bison, attached to a stick in such a manner as to present the same form. The traders supply them with axes of iron.

The weapons used in hunting are bows and arrows, and guns. The bow is about four feet long, of a simple form, composed of hickory, or hop-horn beam wood, (*ostrya virginica*), or bow-wood, (*maclura aurantiaca* of Nuttall,) the latter being greatly preferred. The cord is of twisted bison, or elk sinew. The hunting arrow is generally made of arrow-wood, (*viburnum*), about two feet in length, of the usual cylindric form, and armed with elongate-triangular spear-head, made of sheet iron, of which the shoulders are rounded, instead of the ordinary barbed form; it is firmly affixed to the shank by deer sinew, and its flight is equalised by three half webs of the feathers of a turkey, neatly secured near its base, in the usual manner. The war arrow differs from that used for hunting, in having a barbed spear-head, very slightly attached to the wood, so that if it penetrate the body of an enemy, it cannot be withdrawn without leaving the point in the wound.

The arrows are contained in a quiver, which is slung obliquely across the back, and which is generally made of Cougar skin, with the tail of the animal dangling down from the upper extremity; attached to this quiver is also a skin case for the bow, when not in use. To bend the bow requires the exertion of considerable force, dexterously applied; for this purpose three fingers are placed upon the string, whilst the thumb and index finger grasp the base of the arrow, where it rests on the string; the wrist is defended from the percussion of the string by a guard of leather. The smooth-bored gun is preferred to the rifle, the latter being too heavy for their use. Those called Mackinaw guns are greatly preferred to those which they more commonly procure from our traders, being far more substantial and serviceable.

They make use of no traps, excepting those for catching beaver, which they obtain from the traders chiefly on loan. The hooks which they use in fishing are bought of the traders. They have no fishing nets.' Vol. II. pp. 10—12.

They occupy their villages not more than five months in the year. Returning in April from their hunting excursions, they spend the month of May in planting maize, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons, and in dressing the bison-skins they have procured during the winter hunt, for the traders. The young men make short excursions in the meantime, to hunt for beaver, otter, deer, musk-rat, elk, &c. In June, their provisions being generally exhausted, they set out afresh for their hunting grounds, and return from their expedition some time in September. Towards the latter end of October, they again sally forth in separate parties to various situations on both sides of the Missouri; their primary object at this time being to obtain from the traders, on credit, guns, powder, ball, flints, beaver-traps, camp-kettles, knives, hoes, axes, and tomahawks. Having obtained these implements, they go in pursuit of deer, or apply themselves to trapping for beaver and otter, till towards the close of December. After passing a short time at their village, they again set out in pursuit of bisons; which expedition occupies them till April. One of the traders assured the gentlemen of the Expedition, that he once transported fifteen thousand skins to St. Louis in one year.

During their stay in their villages, the more laborious part of the work devolves, of course, upon the squaws. Among the amusements resorted to by their lords, *card-playing* stands pre-eminent. For this, as well as for the civilized enjoyment of intoxication, the Indians are indebted to the Traders. So inveterately attached are they, we are told, 'to the heinous vice of gambling, that they are known to squander in this way every thing they possess, with the solitary exception of their habitation, which, however, is regarded more as the property of the woman than of the man.' The squaws, like the ladies in our own country, have also their card parties. There is a game bearing some resemblance to throwing dice, called plumstone shooting, in which the Omawhaw dowagers become sometimes so highly interested, that they will neglect their food and ordinary occupations for a whole day, and perhaps night, solely intent upon it, until the losers have nothing more to stake. It is remarkable, how very closely these savages tread on the heels of Europeans in some of their accomplishments. It would be a curious problem, to estimate the *quantum* of mind respectively brought into exercise by three given parties of gamblers; say, a company of English noblemen and senators at a *Rouge et Noir* table, an old ladies' card party in some country town, and a groupe of Indian squaws playing at *Kon-se-ke-da*.

Whiskey, which they call aptly enough *Pa-je-ne*, fire-water,

is the only spirituous liquor which the Missouri Indians are acquainted with. It is freely furnished them by the traders, by a nefarious evasion of the existing law of the United States, which prohibits the sale of it to the natives. The vice of drunkenness is stated, however, to be extremely rare in the Pawnee, as well as in the Konza nation; but the Omawhaws are much addicted to it, esteeming an occasional indulgence in intoxication a 'delightful frolic.'

' The greatest offences and insults are overlooked if committed in this state, and even murder is palliated by it. The actions of drunken Indians are as ridiculous and puerile as those of civilized drunkards. Chiefs, warriors, and common men roll indiscriminately on the earth together, or dance, caper, laugh, cry, shout, fight, or hug and kiss, and rub each other with their hands in the most affectionate or stupid manner. If in the vicinity of white people, they appoint some of their number to remain sober, in order to prevent injury or insult being offered to them. The squaws sometimes tie them with cords, in order to preserve the peace, and are thanked for their precaution, when the subjects return to the dignity of reason. Squaws, however, will themselves get drunk on certain occasions, and children are frequently intoxicated with liquor given them by their parents.

They know nothing of the bliss of opium, the more innocent sedative of a pipe being their highest luxury. The Author could not learn that they have any knowledge of cathartic or emetic medicines. As a substitute for the latter, a feather is thrust down the throat, until it produces vomiting. Sweating baths are much in estimation among them. They practise bleeding for various ailments. Gun-shot wounds are said to be sometimes successfully treated, by sucking out the matter as it is secreted. The practitioner in all such cases is one of their magicians or priests, who of course pow-wows over the wound, rattling his gourds, and performing sundry mystic ceremonies. For some of their more rational modes of treating diseases, they are probably indebted to French and American traders. Fevers of all kinds are extremely rare among them, but ophthalmia frequently occurs, which they have learned from the traders how to treat. The blind are not neglected by their friends: 'on the contrary,' says Dr. James, 'we had several opportunities of observing them to be well 'clothed and fed, and much at their ease.' When superannuated, however, they are not exempted from the usual fate, namely, the chance of being, in case of need, left behind by a hunting party, to live till they come that way again, if they can, or starve. Their religion may be said to be unitarian.

' The Wahconda is believed to be the greatest and best of beings, the creator and preserver of all things, and the fountain of mystic medicine. Omniscience, omnipresence, and vast power are attributed to him, and he is supposed to afflict them with sickness, poverty, or misfortune, for their evil deeds. In conversation he is frequently appealed to as an evidence of the truth of their asseverations, in the words Wahconda-wa-nah-kong, the Wahconda hears what I say; and they sometimes add Mun-ekuh-wa-nah-kong, the earth hears what I say.

' Whatever may be the notions of other Indian nations, we did not learn that the Omawhaws have any distinct ideas of the existence of the devil; or at least we always experienced much difficulty and delay, when obtaining vocabularies of this and some other languages, in ascertaining corresponding words for *Devil* and *Hell*; the Indians would consult together, and in one instance the interpreter told us they were coining a word.

' They say that, after death, those who have conducted themselves properly in this life, are received into the Wa-noch-a-te, or town of brave and generous spirits; but those who have not been useful to the nation or their own families, by killing their enemies, stealing horses, or by generosity, will have a residence prepared for them in the town of poor and useless spirits; where, as well as in the good town, their usual avocations are continued.

' Their Wahconda seems to be a Protean god; he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All those who are favoured with his presence, become medicine men or magicians, in consequence of thus having seen and conversed with the Wahconda, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy.

' He appeared to one in the shape of a grizzly bear, to another in that of a bison, to a third in that of a beaver, or owl, &c., and an individual attributed to an animal, from which he received his medicine, the form and features of the elephant.' Vol. I. pp. 246, 7.

' The Minnetarees, in common with several other nations of our Indians, have the strange tradition of their origin, that they formerly lived under ground. "Two boys," say they, "strayed away from them, " and absented themselves several days. At length they returned and informed the nation that they had discovered another world, situate above their present residence, where all was beautiful and light. They saw the sun, the earth, the Missouri, and the bison. This account so delighted the people, that they immediately abandoned their subterranean dwelling, and, led by the boys, arrived on the surface of the earth, at the spot which their villages now occupy, and where they have dwelt ever since."

' They seem to have full faith in the notion that, at their death, they will be restored to the mansions of their ancestors under ground, from which they are intercepted by a large and rapid watercourse. Over this river, which may be compared to the Styx of the ancients, they are obliged to pass on a very narrow footway. Those Indians who have been useful to the nation, such as brave warriors or good

hunters, pass over with ease, and arrive safely at the A-pah-he, or ancient village. But the worthless Indians slip off from the bridge or footway, into the stream that foams beneath in the swiftness of its course, which hurries them into oblivion, or Lethe. The Mandans, according to Lewis and Clarke, have a tradition somewhat similar; and it strongly reminds us of the Al-sirat of Mahomet, over which, it was supposed, that great leader was to conduct his Moslems to the bliss of futurity, whilst the unworthy were precipitated into the gulf which yawned beneath it.' Vol. I. pp. 258, 9.

A favourable account, on the whole, is given of their social and domestic character. Their hospitality is most exemplary: even an enemy is protected in the habitation of an Omawhaw, so far as his power extends. Prisoners taken in battle are treated according to their sex, age, and qualifications.

' Of the squaws they make slaves, or rather servants, though these are sometimes advantageously married. To the young men the task of tending horses is commonly assigned; but the children are generally adopted into their families, and are treated in every respect as their own offspring. When arrived at maturity, they are identified with the nation, and it would be an insult to apply the name of their own countrymen to them.'

Fraternal affection is very strong and permanent among the Omawhaws. The young men are generally coupled out as friends, and these youthful friendships are said to be strongly knit, though enfeebled by matrimony, as in civilized countries. The maternal instinct is, in some instances, very strong. Polygamy is allowed, and is attended by its usual concomitant inconveniences; but instances are given of devoted conjugal attachment on the part of squaws, and love would seem to be a passion not altogether divest of sentiment even in the bosom of a Missouri Indian. A very remote degree of consanguinity is stated to be an insuperable bar to the marriage union. This fact, if well authenticated, is a striking one. An Omawhaw will, however, take two or more sisters to wife: in case of his death, his widow devolves upon his brother, if he has left one; if not, she returns to her own relations. The squaw continues to mourn for her husband for six, eight, or even twelve months. The usual Indian mourning consists in covering the body with *white clay*. The girls are kept by their mothers in a state of considerable subjection, are trained up to industrious habits, and are watchfully guarded, so that 'a prostitute who has never been married, is of exceedingly rare occurrence.' Elopements, intrigues, and conjugal infidelity, according to the present account, would seem to be not much more frequent among these poor Indians, than in high life at Paris or London. Some young warrior may happen to take a fancy to a married squaw,

in which case he elopes with her to a neighbouring tribe. Many husbands will take no cognizance of infidelity on the part of their wife ; others resort to a very summary mode of punishment, by cutting off the offender's hair, scarifying her face and head, or by severer mutilations, and afterwards, it may be, abandoning her. But, upon the whole, neither does woman appear to be so degraded among them, as is the case in some nations more advanced in civilization, nor does the state of morals seem irreclaimably vicious. The moral character of the white hunters is probably below, and that of the traders little, if at all above the average standard among these poor savages. Instances are given of gross brutality in individuals, but they are represented as exceptions, condemned by the general voice, and held in detestation. As to the charge of anthropophagy, Dr. James says : ' We could not learn that any ' one of the nations of the Missouri Indians are accused even ' by their enemies, of eating human flesh from choice, or for ' the gratification of a horrible luxury : starvation alone can ' induce them to eat of it.' Two cases are mentioned, as exceptions, which rather confirm this statement. An Ioway having killed an Osage, compelled some children of his own nation to eat of the uncooked flesh of the thigh of his victim. There would have been no occasion for such compulsion, had the practice prevailed. The other case is that of a Sioux of St. Peter's, who dried some of the flesh of a Chippeway whom he had killed, and presented it to some white men, who ate it without discovering the imposition. This by no means proved his own relish for such abominable food.

The tribe of Pawnee Loups are stated to have been once distinguished by the custom of offering up a prisoner of either sex once a year, as a propitiatory sacrifice to Venus or the *Great Star*, in order to secure a good crop of maize, &c.

' The devoted individual was clothed in the gayest and most costly attire, profusely supplied with the choicest food, and constantly attended by the magi, who anticipated all his wants, cautiously concealed from him the real object of their sedulous attentions, and endeavoured to preserve his mind in a state of cheerfulness with the view of promoting obesity, and thereby rendering the sacrifice more acceptable to their Ceres. When the victim was thus sufficiently fattened for their purpose, a suitable day was appointed for the performance of the rite, that the whole nation might attend. The victim was bound to a cross in presence of the assembled multitude, when a solemn dance was performed ; and after some other ceremonies, the warrior whose prisoner he had been, cleaved his head with the tomahawk ; and his speedy death was insured by numerous archers, who penetrated his body with their arrows.

' The present mild and humane chief of the nation, Latelesha, or

Knife Chief, had long regarded this sacrifice as an unnecessary and cruel exhibition of power, exercised upon unfortunate and defenceless individuals, whom they were bound to protect; and he vainly endeavoured to abolish it by philanthropic admonitions.

‘ An Ietan woman, who was brought captive into the village, was doomed to the Great Star by the warrior whose property she had become by the fate of war. She underwent the usual preparations, and, on the appointed day, was led to the cross, amidst a great concourse of people, as eager, perhaps, as their civilized fellow men, to witness the horrors of an execution. The victim was bound to the cross with thongs of skin, and the usual ceremonies being performed, her dread of a more terrible death was about to be terminated by the tomahawk and the arrow. At this critical juncture, Petalesharoo (son of the Knife Chief) stepped forward into the area, and in a hurried but firm manner, declared that it was his father’s wish to abolish this sacrifice; that for himself, he had presented himself before them, for the purpose of laying down his life upon the spot, or of releasing the victim. He then cut the cords which bound her to the cross, carried her swiftly through the crowd to a horse, which he presented to her, and having mounted another himself, he conveyed her beyond the reach of immediate pursuit; when, after having supplied her with food, and admonishing her to make the best of her way to her own nation, which was at the distance of at least four hundred miles, he was constrained to return to his village. The emancipated Ietan had, however, the good fortune, on her journey of the subsequent day, to meet with a war party of her own people, by whom she was conveyed to her family in safety.

‘ This daring deed would, almost to a certainty, have terminated in an unsuccessful attempt, under the arm of any other warrior; and Petalesharoo was, no doubt, indebted for this successful and noble achievement to the distinguished renown which his feats of chivalry had already gained for him, and which commanded the high respect of all his rival warriors. Notwithstanding the signal success of this enterprise, another display of the firmness and determination of the young warrior was required to abolish this sacrifice, it is to be hoped for ever. The succeeding spring, a warrior, who had captured a fine Spanish boy, vowed to sacrifice him to the Great Star, and accordingly placed him under the care of the magi, for that purpose.

‘ The Knife Chief, learning the determination of the warrior, consulted with his son, respecting the best means of preventing a repetition of the horrible ceremony. “ I will rescue the boy,” said Petalesharoo, “ as a warrior should, by force;” but the Knife Chief, unwilling that his son should again expose himself to a danger so imminent as that which he had once encountered in this cause, hoped to compel the warrior to exchange his victim for a large quantity of merchandize, which he would endeavour to obtain with that view. For this purpose he repaired to Mr. Pappan, who happened to be in the village for the purposes of trade, and communicated to him his intentions. Mr. Pappan generously contributed a considerable quantity of merchandize, and much was added by himself, by Petalesharoo, and other Indians.

• All this treasure was laid in a heap together, in the lodge of the Knife Chief, who thereupon summoned the warrior before him. The chief armed himself with his war-club, and explained the object of his call, commanding the warrior to accept the merchandize and yield up the boy, or prepare for instant death. The warrior refused, and the chief waved his club in the air towards the warrior.— "Strike," said Petalesharoo, who stood near to support his father; "I will meet the vengeance of his friends." But the more prudent and politic chief added a few more articles to the mass of merchandize, in order to give the warrior another opportunity of acquiescing without forfeiting his word.

• This expedient succeeded; the goods were reluctantly accepted, and the boy was liberated, and was subsequently conducted to St. Louis by the traders. The merchandize was sacrificed in place of the boy; the cloth was cut in shreds, and suspended by poles at the place of sacrifice, and many of the valuables were consumed by fire. It is not expected that another attempt will be made to immolate a human victim, during the life of Petalesharoo, or of his benign father.' Vol. II. pp. 81—84.

It is remarkable that this anomalous instance of a barbarous and cruel superstition among the Missouri Indians, who worship an Invisible Spirit, the Master of Life, should be connected with an idolatrous variation of their faith. Polytheism has ever generated impurity and cruelty.

The sources of the Platte, the Arkansa, and the Red River, are frequented by six other nations, besides those already enumerated, namely, the Kaskaias, the Shiennes, the Arrapahoes, the Kiawas, the Bald-heads, and a few Shoshones or Snakes. These are for the most part roving bands, having no permanent places of residence, and subsisting entirely on the products of the chase. The detachment who pursued the route of the Canadian river, fell in with a band of Kaskaias, who struck them as decidedly inferior in stature, symmetry of form, and acquirements, to the Otoes, Pawnees, and most of the Missouri Indians who reside in permanent villages. They were excessively filthy and barbarous; and, from the attention excited by the white skin of the American officers, appeared to have had communication only with Spanish traders from the South. They possessed few articles of foreign production, and but one kettle, which belonged to the chief. Their dress consisted more exclusively of leather than that of the Pawnees. They are described, however, as having well-turned features, aquiline noses, large and regular teeth, and eyes, though rather small, clear and brilliant. They begged for tobacco, but did not inquire for whiskey, which renders it probable that they have not yet acquired a relish for intoxicating liquors.

• The great number of images of alligators which they wear either

as ornaments or as amulets, affords sufficient proof of their extending their rambles to districts inhabited by that reptile. These images are of carved wood covered with leather, and profusely ornamented with beads. They are suspended about the neck, and we saw several worn in this manner by the children as well as by adults. It was observed likewise, that the rude frames to the looking glasses carried by several of the men, were carved so as to approximate towards the same form.'

Vol. II. p. 300.

A larger party was subsequently fallen in with, consisting of Kaskaias, Kiawas, Shiennes, and Arrapahoes, who are thus described.

These Indians differ, in many particulars, from those of the Missouri, with whose appearance we had been for some time familiar. Their average stature appeared to us less considerable; and although the general appearance of the countenance was such as we had been accustomed to see, yet their faces have, perhaps, somewhat more latitude, and the Roman nose is obviously less predominant; but still the direction of the eyes, the prominence of the cheek bones, the form of the lips, teeth, chin, and retreating forehead, are precisely similar. They have also the same habit of plucking the hair from various parts of the body; but that of the head, in the females, is only suffered to attain to the shoulders, whilst the men permit theirs to grow to its full extent. They even regard long hair as an ornament, and many wear false hair fastened to their own by means of an earthy matter, resembling red clay, and depending in many instances (particularly the young beau) to their knees, in the form of queues, one on each side of the head, variously decorated with ribbon, like slips of red and blue cloth, or coloured skin. Others, and by no means an inconsiderable few, had collected their long hair into several flat masses, of the breadth of two or three fingers, and less than the fifth of an inch in thickness, each one separately annulated with red clay at regular intervals. The elders wore their hair without decoration, flowing loosely about their shoulders, or simply intermixed with slender plaited queues. In structure and colour it is not distinguished from that of the Missouri Indians, though, in early youth, it is often of a much lighter colour; and a young man, of perhaps fifteen years of age, who visited us to-day, had hair decidedly of a flaxen hue, with a tint of dusky yellow.

Their costume is very simple, that of the female consisting of a leathern petticoat, reaching the calf of the leg, destitute of a seam, and often exposing a well-formed thigh, as the casualties of wind or position influence the artless foldings of the skirt. The leg and foot are often naked, but usually invested by gaiters and mockasins. A kind of sleeveless short gown, composed of a single piece of the same material, loosely clothes the body, hanging upon the shoulders, readily thrown off, without any sense of indelicacy, when suckling their children, or under the influence of a heated atmosphere, displaying loose and pendant mammae. A few are covered by the more costly attire of coarse red or blue cloth, ornamented with a profusion

of blue and white beads: the short gown of this dress has the addition of wide sleeves descending below the elbow; its body is of a square form, with a transverse slit in the upper edge for the head to pass through; around this aperture, and on the upper side of the sleeves, is a continuous stripe, the breadth of the hand, of blue and white beads, tastefully arranged in contrast with each other, and adding considerable weight as well as ornament to this part of the dress. Around the petticoat, and in a line with the knees, is an even row of oblong conic bells, made of sheet copper, each about an inch and a half in length, suspended vertically by short leathera thongs as near to each other as possible, so that when the person is in motion, they strike upon each other, and produce a tinkling sound. The young unmarried females are more neatly dressed, and seem to participate but little in the laborious occupations, which fall chiefly to the lot of their wedded companions.

'The dress of the men is composed of a breech cloth, skin legging, mockasins, and a bison robe. In warm weather the three latter articles of dress are sometimes thrown aside as superfluous, exposing all the limbs and body to view, and to the direct influence of the most ardent rays of the sun. Such are the habiliments that necessity compels the multitude to adopt; but the opulence of a few has gained for themselves the comfortable as well as ornamental and highly esteemed Spanish blanket from the Mexican traders, and of which we had previously seen two or three in the possession of Pawnee warriors worn as trophies. Another species of garment, in their estimation equally sumptuous with the blanket, is the cloth robe, which is of ample dimensions, simple in form, one half red and the other blue, thrown loosely about the person, and at a little distance, excepting the singular arrangement of colours, resembling a Spanish cloak.

'Some have, suspended from the slits of their ears, the highly prized nacre, or pearlaceous fragments of a marine shell, brought probably from the N. W. coast.' Vol. III. pp. 46—48.

'The Shiennes, or Shawhays, who have united their destiny with these wanderers, are a band of seceders from their own nation; and some time since, on the occurrence of a serious dispute with their kindred on Shienne river of the Missouri, fled their country, and placed themselves under the protection of the Bear Tooth.

'These nations have been for the three past years wandering on the head waters and tributaries of Red river, having returned to the Arkansa only the day which preceded our first interview with them, on their way to the mourtains at the sources of the Platte river. They have no permanent town, but constantly rove, as necessity urges them, in pursuit of the herds of bisons in the vicinity of the sources of the Platte, Arkansa, and Red rivers.' Vol. III. p. 53.

These tribes are habitually at war with all the nations of the Missouri. Within four days' march of Belle Point, the exploring party met with a company of the Osages, or Waw-sash-es. This nation are at war with all their neighbours, except the Konzas and a part of the Sauks and Foxes. With

the Konzas they freely intermarry. In stature, they are by no means superior to the Missouri Indians, nor do they differ from them in features or in colour. Their dresses and decorations also are similar to those of the Omawhaws, Otoes, and Konzas, except that, owing to their proximity to the settlements, they are furnished with a greater proportion of manufactured articles from the Whites. Being more peacefully inclined than some of the fiercer tribes, they are freely branded by the Missouri Indians with the epithet of cowards. They are distinguished by one very remarkable custom. Previously to retiring to rest, they perform 'their vespers,' by chanting 'in a wild and melancholy tone, a kind of hymn to the Master of Life.'

There can be no doubt that the Konzas and Osages, the Otoes, Missouries, and Ioways, the Omawhaws and Puncahs, to which may be added the Quawpaws and several other tribes, are all descended from a common origin. Their dialects are only varieties of the same language. Some of them have a tradition that their fathers came from beyond the Lakes; and all accounts agree in their having migrated from the North. It is within a comparatively recent period that they have diverged from the course of the Mississippi in a westerly direction, establishing themselves on the Missouri and its tributaries. Their probable numbers are thus stated: Otoes and Missouries, 1400; Omawhaws, 1500; Puncahs, 200; Konzas, 1500; Osages, 4000. The Pawnees are a distinct race, their language being radically different: the three bands of Grand, Republican, and Loup Pawnees amount to about 6500 souls. Of the Kaskaias, Kiaways, Arrapahoes, &c. little is known. They are believed to diffuse themselves extensively within the range of the Rocky Mountains, but, having no fixed residence, it is impossible to estimate their numbers. Their language is peculiarly difficult to be acquired or even understood; and individuals of the several nations are accustomed, it is presumed through ignorance of each other's dialect, to communicate chiefly by the common language of signs. These tribes are in a much more hopeless state of degradation; but still, there is nothing in their character to warrant the idea that they are beyond the reach of civilization. A belief in the existence of a Supreme Being is common to all these Western nations, and they have some indistinct notions of the immortality of the soul. They are generally in the habit of offering in sacrifice, a portion of the game first taken on a hunting expedition, a part of the first products of the field, and often a small portion of the food provided for their refreshment. A singular custom prevails among the Omawhaws.

* From the age of about five years to that of ten or twelve, custom

obliges the boy to ascend to a hill-top, or other elevated position, fasting, that he may cry aloud to the Wahconda. At the proper season, his mother reminds him that "the ice is breaking up in the river, the ducks and geese are migrating, and it is time for you to prepare to go in clay." He then rubs his person over with a whitish clay, and is sent off to the hill-top at sunrise, previously instructed by his mother what to say, and how to demean himself in the presence of the Master of Life. From this elevation he cries out to the great Wahconda, humming a melancholy tune, and calling on him to have pity on him, and make him a great hunter, horse-stealer, and warrior. This is repeated once or twice a week, during the months of March and April.⁴ Vol. I. pp. 219, 220.

In many respects, these savages will sustain an advantageous comparison, not only with the several varieties of the degraded Ethiopic family, but, in point of intellectual vigour and range, with many tribes less absolutely illiterate, and in respect to their social character and moral sense, with most of the Asiatic nations. Their not having sunk into idolatry, while they retain the sense of an Invisible Object of worship, is a striking peculiarity. In this, they are distinguished not more remarkably from the idolatrous nations of the Eastern Continent, than from the Aztecs and other Indian nations of South America. This circumstance is in favour of their remote origin, as a separate branch of the great human family; but over this subject, there will ever rest, we apprehend, an impenetrable obscurity. They are, so far as can be ascertained, without traditional knowledge relative to either their own history, or the great facts to which the traditions of all countries more or less distinctly point. They can seldom trace back their pedigree more than a few generations, and there is nothing to mark their genealogy, but their language.

Some interesting particulars are given in these volumes, relative to the Cherokee Indians, with whose name our readers must be more familiar. Among them, a considerable degree of civilization has been successfully introduced. One of their chiefs, resident at the settlement on Rocky Bayou, is known by the name of Tom Graves.

⁴ Though entirely an Indian in his character and habits, he has the colour and features of an European; and it was not without some difficulty we could be made to believe that he was in reality allied by birth to the people among whom he holds the rank of a chief. His house, as well as many we passed before we arrived at it, is constructed like those of the white settlers, and, like them, surrounded with enclosed fields of corn, cotton, sweet potatoes, &c.; with cribs, sheds, droves of swine, flocks of geese, and all the usual accompaniments of a thriving settlement. He treated us with a good degree of attention, and shewed himself well acquainted with the

manner of making amends by extravagant charges. Our dinner was brought in by black slaves, and consisted of a large boiled buffalo, fish, a cup of coffee, corn bread, milk, &c. Our host and his wife, of unmixed aboriginal race, were at table with us, and several slaves of African descent were in waiting. The Cherokees are said to treat their slaves with much lenity. The part of the nation now residing on the Arkansa, have recently removed from a part of the State of Tennessee. They are almost exclusively agriculturists, raising large crops of corn and cotton, enough for clothing their families, which they manufacture in their own houses.

‘A miserable remnant of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Peola tribes, with a few Chickasaws and Cherokees, were at this time scattered through the country from the Mississippi at the mouth of Apple Creek, westward to the sources of Black River. They were, however, about to remove further west, and many of them were already on their way to the country about the upper branches of White River, where, by becoming intruders upon the territories of the Cherokees, it may be expected their speedy and entire extinction will be insured.’ Vol. III, pp. 128, 146.

The length to which this article has extended, will not admit of our giving even an abstract of the interesting geographical and geological information contained in this work, relative to the immense valley, thirteen hundred miles in length from East to West, situated between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains. This vast basin, embracing more than twenty degrees of latitude, and about thirty of longitude, is traversed longitudinally by the Mississippi, being bounded on the South by the Gulf of Mexico: to the northward, no precise boundary can be assigned. Major Long, in his official Report, remarks, that

‘Although many have supposed that the waters of the Mississippi are separated from those running north-westwardly into the Pacific Ocean, and north-easterly into the Atlantic, by a mountainous range of country, yet, from the best information that can be had on the subject, the fact is quite otherwise. The old and almost forgotten statement of savage origin, viz., that four of the largest rivers on the continent have their sources in the same plain, is entitled to far more credit. The rivers alluded to are the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Saskashawin, and the Oregon or M‘Kenzie’s river. Agreeably to the accounts of Colonel Dixon and others who have traversed the country situated between the Missouri and the Assinaboin, a branch of Red River of Hudson’s Bay, no elevated ridge is to be met with; but, on the contrary, tributaries to both these streams take their rise in the same champaign, and wind their way in various directions to their far distant estuaries.’ Vol. III. p. 261.

With regard to the extensive section of this tract of country westward of the meridian of Council Bluff, embracing an area

of about 400 miles square, lying between 96° and 105° W. long. and between 35° and 42° N. lat., the Major gives it as his decided opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence.

Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. This objection rests not only against the section immediately under consideration, but applies with equal propriety to a much larger portion of the country. Agreeably to the best intelligence that can be had, concerning the country both northward and southward of the section, and especially to the inferences deducible from the account given by Lewis and Clarke of the country situated between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains above the river Platte, the vast region commencing near the sources of the Sabine, Trinity, Brases, and Colorado, and extending northwardly to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, by which the United States' territory is limited in that direction, is throughout of a similar character. The whole of this region seems peculiarly adapted as a range for buffaloes, wild goats, and other wild game; incalculable multitudes of which find ample pasturage and subsistence upon it.

'This region, however, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that part of our frontier.' Vol. III. pp. 236, 7.

This plain was crossed by the exploring party in three different lines; the first time in ascending the Platte, between lat. 40° and $41^{\circ} 30'$; again, in descending the Arkansa, in lat. 38° ; and thirdly, by the route of the Canadian in lat. 34° . But the greater part of this vast region still remains unknown, though its general character may be considered as adequately ascertained. The Rocky Mountains are evidently a continuation of the Andes of the southern hemisphere. They consist of primitive rocks, with a screen of red and argillaceous sandstone skirting their base, in which are imbedded numerous *reliquiae* of the animals of a former world. Behind these, the stupendous granitic range towers up into the regions of perpetual winter. Their highest elevation is computed at 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; and rising abruptly from the plains, they are visible at more than a hundred miles distance.

Art. II. *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle, translated, with an Exposition and Notes.* By the Rev. Thomas Belsham, Minister of Essex-street Chapel. 8vo. 4 vols. pp. 2247. London. 1822.

(Concluded from page 399.)

IN respect to the volumes before us, as a Translation of the Epistles of Paul, the readings have in general been anticipated in the Improved Version, the notes of which also exhibit in outline, the more diffuse explanations of Mr. Belsham's Commentary. In some instances where the sense is not disturbed, Mr. Belsham's version exhibits a change of expression for the better; as in the examples, 'wrath' for 'anger,' 'grace' for 'favour.' But there are several cases in which Mr. Belsham's translation does not accord with the readings of the Improved Version, where the variation is of importance; as in the following, and some other instances.

'Whose are the fathers, and of whom by natural descent Christ came. God, who is over all, be blessed for ever. Amen.' I. V.

'Whose are the fathers, of whom is Christ according to the flesh, whose is the God over all blessed for evermore.' Mr. Belsham.

The conjectural reading of Slichtingius, Ω, δ, for δ, ς, which the Editors of the Improved Version thought very plausible, but which they did not venture to insert in the text, Mr. Belsham has adopted, in opposition to all authority, because he thinks 'it is next to impossible that the Apostle, when enumerating the distinguishing privileges of his countrymen, should omit the greatest privilege of all; namely that God was in a peculiar sense their God.' The fact is, that he has not omitted it: the "adoption" evidently includes their special relation to God, and the relation of God to them. Mr. Belsham's notions of what it might be next to impossible for the Apostle to omit, cannot furnish any reason for his altering the Apostle's text. This, as Mr. B. somewhere says of one of Macknight's comments, is rather making Scripture than interpreting it. But the violent proceeding by which Mr. Belsham has changed the text, is insufficient for his purpose; it should have included the removal of the ς from the place where it now stands, immediately after ταπεις, to a station directly after ταρπα*. 'Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ according to the flesh, whose is the God over all blessed for evermore'—this is a strange construction; it is the reading,

* We owe this observation to Dr. Wardlaw's Discourses. p. 420.

however, which Mr. Belsham's unwarrantable emendation requires, though no one can suppose that the Greek of such a passage could have proceeded from the Apostle. The received reading is fixed immovably. Innovations may be proposed and adopted in respect to this passage; and so they may in all other cases where the doctrine of the received text exhibits, is in opposition to the tenets of a party; but 'making Scripture' must be perilous employment.

' 1 Cor. i. 30. *But of him are ye both justified, and sanctified, and redeemed in Christ Jesus, who from God hath been made wisdom to us.*'

Few of the critics, we are told in Mr. Belsham's note, besides Mr. Wakefield,

' seem to have attended to the construction of the Apostle's language. He does not say that Christ is made by God to us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,—but that ye, in Christ, that is, believing in the Christian doctrine, are thereby justified, sanctified, and redeemed.'

What the Apostle, according to the present Expositor, does not say, the Editors of the Improved Version have, however, made him say: ' And by him ye are in Christ Jesus, whom God hath made unto us wisdom, and justification, and sanctification, and redemption.' This rendering seems to be the most natural construction of the original; though the one proposed above, is, certainly, not contrary to the reading of the Greek text, and was published long before Wakefield's time. Mr. Belsham's paraphrase furnishes a gloss in unison with the theory of explanation which runs through his volumes in reference to the doctrine of the apostles,—transition from a state of ceremonial separation into a state of external privilege.

' Ephes. ii. 1—5. ' Who were dead in offences and sins'—' when we were dead in offences.' I. V.

' Who are now dead to transgressions and sins'—' who are now dead to sins.' Mr. Belsham.

' Not in sins, but to sins: i. e. to our former unconverted state.' Mr. Belsham's note.

' 1 Tim. v. 21. " chosen messengers," i. e. the apostles of Christ who were chosen to bear testimony to his resurrection.' I. V.

' " chosen messengers," eminent believers who were selected to accompany and assist the apostle,—delegates of the Church who often accompanied the apostle in his journeys.' Mr. Belsham.

' Heb. ii. 16. For indeed Christ helpeth not angels.' I. V.

‘ For it [the fear of death] layeth not hold of angels.’ Mr. Belsham.

Mr. Belsham occasionally remarks, that angels know as little of us, as we know of them; and as he states that they are unacquainted with the inhabitants of this world, so, it follows that the inhabitants of this world are in perfect ignorance of them; but, in his comment on the preceding verse, he informs us, that ‘ angels and beings of a superior order are not exposed to the fear of death, not being liable to mortality.’

1 Cor. i. 2. Mr. Belsham renders, ‘ *Who take upon themselves the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.*’—τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. “ Who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,” is the reading of the Common Version, which, we are most firmly persuaded, is the correct rendering. The exigencies of the Author’s system has led him to frame a reading at variance with the uniform usage of the New Testament in regard to this expression. He has himself translated τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τοῦ Κυρίου, 2 Tim. ii. 22. ‘ *those who call upon the Lord;*’ and in every passage in which the phrase occurs throughout the entire range both of the Septuagint and the New Testament, there is no instance in which any other version than that which conveys the idea of invocation, would be a proper representation of the meaning of the words. Επικαλεσταὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου εἰς αὐτοὺς—οὐομα το επικληθεὶς εφ’ ὑμας, are the expressions which correspond to the other formula, ‘ who are called by the name.’ But as to the text in question, the meaning is not less definitely fixed by the connexion of the phrase, which restricts its import to invocation, while in no one example is its sense otherwise determined. Ps. xciii. 6. “ Samuel among them that call upon his name”—εν τοῖς επικαλουμένοις το ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. (Sept.)—“ he answered them.” Zech. xiii. 9. “ He shall call on my name”—αὐτος επικαλεσταὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου.—“ and I will hear.” In the instance on which we are animadverting, Mr. Belsham follows the “ Improved Version;” as he also adopts its reading of 2 Tim. ii. 22., where it agrees with the common text. In Rom. x. 13, 14. the first edition of the “ Improved Version” followed the reading of the public version; but, on consulting the fourth edition of that book, we find that the reading has been changed for, ‘ Whosoever taketh upon himself the name of the Lord;’ which Mr. Belsham’s translation exhibits. If an example had been produced of the indubitable appropriation of the formula in question to this sense, there might then have been some ground for alleging that, in respect to a phrase of ambiguous import, it was correct for the translator to give such an interpretation as was in accordance with the clear, ad-

mitted import of the expression. But no such example can be produced ; the positive sense of the phrase is determined to another meaning, by clear, indisputable instances, while, to convey the sense to which we are objecting, other expressions are definitely used. We cannot hesitate, therefore, in rejecting the new interpretation as erroneous, and must tenaciously adhere to the rendering of the Common Version in 1 Cor. i. 2. and in every other instance of the use of this formula, as the true one.

It is easy to perceive that the new reading is forced into the support of the Author's system, which is hostile to the invocation of Christ. As it is our full persuasion that the invocation of Christ, in acts of prayer, which are acts of religious worship, is a doctrine established by the authority of the New Testament, we shall bring together some of those passages on which that doctrine is founded, occurring in the portions of the New Testament comprised in Mr. Belsham's "Translation and Exposition," for the purpose of examining the principles on which they are explained in these volumes.

'Concerning this, I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said to me, My grace is sufficient for thee.' 2 Corinth. xii. 9.

'But may our God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you, &c.' 1 Thess. iii. 11.

'Now may our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and graciously given us everlasting consolation and good hope, encourage your hearts and establish you in every good doctrine and work.' 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17.

On the first of these passages, the following remarks are made by Mr. Belsham.

'Concerning the Apostle's conduct upon the occasion to which he refers, it may be proper to observe, that it cannot reasonably be doubted that he addressed his prayer for relief immediately to Jesus Christ. But in him it was not in the least degree improper, having been called by Christ himself to the profession of the gospel, having been invested by him with the office of an Apostle, having been instructed by him in the Christian doctrine, and endued with the gifts of the holy spirit ; having been honoured by him with visions and personal appearances upon various occasions ; and acting in the whole course of his ministry immediately under his direction. It was probably at one of these sacred interviews that the apostle humbly and earnestly requested to be relieved from that bodily infirmity which was so great an obstruction to him in the course of his public duty ; and it was upon such an occasion that he received the gracious and memorable answer here recorded. But all this, though perfectly proper in the apostle in his peculiar circumstances, being in fact no

more than asking a favour of a friend who is sensibly present, is no warrant for the general practice of praying to Christ in the present circumstances of the church, when all sensible intercourse is withdrawn, and in direct disobedience of his express command to worship the Father only. And such will-worship is undoubtedly an unjustifiable encroachment upon the honour and sole prerogative of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God.' Vol. II. p. 623.

This paragraph comprises the substance of Mr. Belsham's remarks on the whole number of passages in which the language of invocation and prayer is used in relation to Christ in the New Testament. Christ is admitted to be the object of supplicatory address, but the propriety of so regarding him, is restricted to the case of those who were favoured with his personal intercourse, and is denied in respect to all other persons. So, in the case of Stephen's invoking the Saviour with his dying breath, and committing his departing spirit into his hands, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,"—we are told that this address of Stephen to Jesus when he actually saw him, does not authorise us to offer prayers to him, now he is invisible. To this latter case, the explanation proposed in reference to the example in 2 Corinth. xii. 9, does not apply; for there is no evidence that Stephen was favoured with any personal interviews with Christ. Full of the Holy Spirit, he looked up stedfastly to heaven, and saw "Jesus standing on the right hand of God." But, if it were an unjustifiable encroachment on the Divine prerogative, to regard Jesus as the object of adoration, how came it that Stephen did not invoke the Father, and commit into his hands that deposite which it is quite impossible that a righteous man should intrust to the safe-keeping of a creature? The visibility or the invisibility of the object, can make no difference in respect to the nature and propriety of the act of religious worship. If, when consuming in the flames, Latimer had looked up to heaven, and seen, or supposed that he was beholding, Paul, or any other of the apostles standing in the presence of God, would he have thought of invoking his name, and have yielded up his spirit into his hands? Till the case of Stephen shall be expunged from the New Testament, the propriety of invoking Christ will receive strong confirmation from its testimony. But to return to the other instances under consideration. It is an assertion altogether gratuitous, that the Apostle was favoured with personal intercourse with Christ in any such manner as would seem to be implied in the expression, 'sacred interviews.' Christ appeared to him on the journey to Damascus, and on some other occasions; but those appearances bear no resemblance to the personal interviews of one man with another, and as little, we

imagine, is the address of Paul to be compared with any one's asking a favour of a friend who is personally present. Nothing is said respecting personal intercourse in the case. The language of prayer is used, and Christ is the object of the invocation. So much is clear. But we would seriously ask, whether the answer which was given to the Apostle's repeated supplications, " My grace is sufficient for thee"—could come from a creature's lips. With respect to the other examples, the assistance and blessings which are invoked, are of a kind which it would assuredly be 'unjustifiable' to solicit from the hands of a creature : they are guidance and support in regard to important undertakings, spiritual aids in reference to the consolation of the minds of Christians, and the establishment and advancement of their piety and usefulness. If the Apostle supplicated these blessings from Christ on behalf of the Thessalonians, that could not be an exclusive case ; it would be as proper for him to entreat them for others. And if he supplicated these blessings from Christ, they must have been communicable by Christ, who was surely not personally present with every Christian at Thessalonica, as it is assumed he was with Paul. Now it must have been quite as proper in those Christians, on whose account the Apostle prayed for spiritual aids from Christ, themselves to invoke those aids by prayer addressed to Christ, as it was for him to use the language of prayer on their behalf. In supplicating our Lord to bestow those blessings, he was, in fact, teaching them to address to Christ their own supplications.

On 1 Timothy vi. 13, ' In the presence of God, who giveth life to all, and of Jesus Christ, &c.' we have this note :

' *And of Jesus Christ.*] There appears to have been a peculiar personal presence of Christ with his church, and especially with the apostles, and with Paul in particular, during the apostolic age, which since that time has been withdrawn, at least in its sensible manifestations ; to which presence the apostle here alludes.'

But was not Timothy, to whom was given the very solemn charge which follows, as much in the presence of Jesus Christ, as the Apostle himself who delivered it ? What evidence, or what ground is there for supposing, that there was any personal presence of Christ at all on the occasion ? The appeal to Christ as a witness, had surely as much reference to Timothy in receiving the charge, as to the Apostle in committing it to him. This supposition of a real personal presence of Christ on earth after his resurrection, appears to us strange and unwarranted. Some passages of the New Testament indispensably require for their explanation, the fact of Christ's

presence, which all those passages very amply shew was supernatural; but, because the plain, obvious import of them would recognise in Christ attributes properly Divine, an hypothesis is advanced in opposition, which is destitute of all Scriptural support.

On 2 Corinthians viii. 9, and Philippians ii. 7, 8, two passages which have generally been considered as affording clear and decisive testimony to the doctrines of the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ, we of course expected to find the version and exposition of Mr. Belsham running in the channel of modern Unitarian interpretation, in accordance with the notes of the "Improved Version," and the "Calm Inquiry."

"For ye know the munificence of our Lord Jesus Christ, how, while he was rich, for your sakes he lived in poverty, that ye by his poverty might be enriched.—Our Lord was rich in miraculous powers, which he could employ, if he pleased, for his own advantage. But, for the benefit of his followers, he chose to lead a life of poverty and dependence."

"Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, did not peremptorily lay claim to this resemblance of God, but divested himself.—Christ possessing voluntary powers of working miracles, did not regard them as his own property and right."

On these passages thus explained, we shall offer some remarks, for the purpose of shewing how entirely the principle assumed as the basis of the modern Unitarian exposition, fails in the hands of the present Interpreter. Christ was possessed of voluntary miraculous powers; he could exercise at pleasure the power of working miracles. Did he, then, ever divest himself of this power? From being in a state in which he could work miracles, did he ever pass into another state, in which he was without the power of controlling or changing the laws of nature? If his being in the "form of God" denote the possession of voluntary miraculous powers, he was always in that form, always appeared in that form; for it was a power which he uniformly and constantly retained, and there could be no change in this respect, no difference of appearance in Christ during the entire course of his ministry. But, we are told, 'he did not regard those powers as his own property and right; ' while in possession of these great powers, he vouchsafed to live in a state of voluntary poverty; ' he did not employ those powers for his own advantage, for his own secular aggrandisement, to furnish himself with the means of living in splendour and with entire command of the luxuries of life. And on Unitarian principles, could he have done so? If Jesus were a mere human being intrusted and honoured with the high office of publishing the Christian dispensation to the

world, 'the greatest of all the prophets of God,' had he any option of this kind? Could he have employed the power of working miracles for his own personal and secular advantage? Could he have exhibited them for the purpose of display? No; he could have employed those powers only for the purposes for which they had been conferred; and they had their special and appropriate use, as the proofs of the Divine origin of the doctrine which they established. Mr. Belsham, we think, has very amply furnished the confutation of his own hypothesis, in his paraphrase on the second of the passages before us.

'He had been taught by the discipline of his temptation in the wilderness, that he was not to exercise the powers entrusted to him, to promote his own interest, or to gratify his own ambition; nor, in general, to extricate himself from danger..... He knew that he possessed these mighty powers as a trust for which he was accountable, and in the use of which he had been fully instructed: and therefore he strictly confined the exercise of them to the purposes for which they were communicated.'

Could he, then, have diverted them to other objects? Would those powers have been permitted to be exercised for other purposes than those for which they had been communicated? If the only answer be a negative one, the entire fabric of Mr. Belsham's exposition is broken up. If our Lord had been fully instructed in the use of the miraculous powers which he possessed, if he had been taught that he was not to exercise them for his own advantage, it was quite impossible for him to make them subservient to any objects of personal gratification or aggrandisement, without such a dereliction of virtue as not even Unitarians themselves would dare attribute to him. Is it possible, then, to receive the interpretation which they give of the passages in question? In both examples, the words which follow, in the one case, the expression '*being rich*', and, in the other, the phrase '*being in the form of God*', are a negation of the properties denoted by those expressions; and, in their received acceptation, the opposition is evident. But to what does the negation relate, where is the negative force of the expressions, according to the explanation given by Mr. B.? What opposition or contrast is there between Christ's possessing miraculous powers, and his invariably using them according to the instructions he received, and for the purposes for which he was intrusted with them? The passage in 2 Cor. viii. 9, is delivered as a motive to the liberal exercise of Christian beneficence. Let us see how it bears on that duty, read in this manner?—'For ye know the grace, the exuberant goodness of

‘ our Lord Jesus Christ, who being rich, possessed of the voluntary power of working miracles, for your sakes became poor; he strictly confined the exercise of them to the purposes for which they were entrusted to him.’ Is this an example of exuberant goodness? Does it furnish any motive by which to urge the exercise of Christian beneficence? Could this be the meaning of the Apostle? And in the other case, which is addressed as an argument and example of generous and beneficent condescension, would the reading which Mr. Belsham’s interpretation requires, place the language of the Apostle in accordance with the design of his writing? ‘ Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God,’ possessing voluntary miraculous powers, ‘ did not peremptorily lay claim to this resemblance of God, but divested himself, assuming the form of a servant;’ he adhered closely to the instructions which he had received, and strictly confined himself to the exercise of those powers for the sole purposes for which they were communicated to him, never using them for his own personal interests, for which purpose they were not given to him. ‘ And becoming like other men, and being in condition as another man,’ by not deviating from the objects marked out by that authority which prescribed his duty, ‘ in obedience to God, he humbled himself unto death, even unto death upon a cross:’ he submitted to a death which the purposes of his mission required, and his heavenly Father directed. Mr. Belsham completes this last clause with the words, ‘ which it was in his power to have avoided.’ But we must maintain, in the argument with a Unitarian, that it was no more in the power of Christ to avoid a death which the purposes of his mission required, and his heavenly Father directed, than it was for him to employ a miraculous endowment for purposes different from those for which that power was communicated.

2 Corinthians XIII. 14. ‘ *May the favour of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the participation of the holy spirit be with you all.*’ This text, Mr. Belsham asserts, ‘ so far from supplying an argument in favour of the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit, militates directly against it: for the participation of a person is absolutely unintelligible.’ Mr. Belsham must pardon us for saying, that the first member of this sentence is altogether a gratuitous affirmation, while the other is so entirely void of propriety, that we are surprised that even he should have ventured it. The Holy Spirit, it seems, can have no personal existence, because we read of the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the participation of a person is clearly an absurdity! *Koinonia tou oixou pneumatatos*, is

the communion, or participation of the Holy Spirit ;' and $\varphi\lambda\omega\pi\tau\mu\mu\alpha$, is, in Euripides, (Medea 256,) the ' communion,' or ' participation of friends :' if there be any thing like reason in Mr. Belsham's construction, he will have taught us to deny the real personal existence of the friends to whom an individual may attach himself. ' The participation of a *person* is absolutely unintelligible ;' and therefore, $\varphi\lambda\omega\pi$ cannot mean persons, just as $\tau\omega\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\pi\tau\mu\mu\alpha$ cannot denote personal existence ! What would be the effect of Mr. Belsham's criticism applied to Heb. iii. 14.—' we are made partakers of Christ,' which is Mr. Belsham's own translation of $\mu\pi\tau\chi\omega\iota\tau\omega\chi\pi\tau\tau\omega\mu\omega$? This text, so far from supplying an argument in favour of the distinct personality of Christ, militates directly against it : ' for the participation of a person is absolutely unintelligible.' Mr. Belsham would doubtless say, that partaking of Christ denotes participation in the blessings of the gospel ; if so, then the expression ' partakers of Christ' cannot be absolutely unintelligible ; and why should the expression, ' the participation of the Holy Spirit,' be less intelligible ? If being ' partakers of Christ' does not militate against Christ's distinct personality, ' the participation of the Holy Spirit' may perfectly consist with the notion of distinct personality, even though we should adopt Mr. Belsham's interpretation of the phrase as denoting miraculous gifts.

' It is,' we are told in this same note, ' highly improper to use these words of the Apostle as a general form of benediction at the close of our public assemblies for Christian worship, as the gifts of the Holy Spirit are now withdrawn.' The extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit are evidently intended, Mr. Belsham's use of the expression referring uniformly to the miraculous donations of the primitive periods of the Christian economy. But to us it seems impossible to restrict the phraseology of the New Testament relative to the influence of the Holy Spirit, to a miraculous agency. ' The Roman Christians,' says Mr. Belsham, (Vol. I. p. 166.) ' neither themselves possessed, nor perhaps had often witnessed the operation of miraculous powers.' With this preparatory statement, we shall cite the text and comment of two passages, Rom. viii. 14. 16.

' For as many as are led by the spirit of God, these are the sons of God.'

' All who have been induced by the consideration of the miraculous powers communicated to Christ and his apostles, to embrace the doctrine of Christ, are nominally sons of God ; and if they are practically influenced by the spirit of the gospel, they are really such, and heirs of immortality.'

• *The spirit itself beareth witness with us, that we are the children of God.*

• Those gifts of the holy spirit, of the existence of which, though you may not yourselves possess them, you have no doubt been credibly informed, and which constitute the proper proofs of the resurrection of Christ, and of the divine original of the gospel, are the most satisfactory evidence that we can possess or desire, that we are taken into the new covenant, that we are no longer subject to the terrors of the law, and that we are adopted into the family of God, and acknowledged by him as his children.'

The extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit were of limited communication, and, as they had not been imparted to the Romans, all this seems far-fetched and inappropriate illustration; very remote from the purpose of the Apostle, who is evidently, in this part of the Epistle, describing a state of internal sanctity, and the moral influence by which it is produced. The same remark applies to 1 Thes. i. 4, 5., which, in common with several expositors, Mr. Belsham explains: 'Because the gospel preached by us came to you, not in word only, but also in power, and in the holy spirit, and with great conviction:—*in power*, confirmed by miraculous works;—*in the holy spirit*, we conferred on you the extraordinary gifts of the holy spirit.' The Apostle, in the preceding portions of the Epistle, gives thanks for the active faith, the laborious love, and the patient hope of the Thessalonians; these being proofs of an internal state and of a moral character, which he adduces to shew the moral efficacy of the gospel, and not any impressions produced upon their minds by miraculous works; these, we well know, did not accomplish the conversion of thousands who beheld them. When the evangelist Luke (ch. iv. 32.) describes Christ's word as being "with power," the reference is not to miracles, any more than it is, we apprehend, in the case of the Thessalonians. But, to return to the passage which led to these remarks, Mr. Belsham, we suppose, would not deem it 'highly improper' that the formula of Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19.) should now be used. To us there appears quite as much reason for retaining the Apostolic benediction. But we must confess, that it would seem a strange combination, to unite the love of God, which is one of the blessings of the gospel, with the blessings of the gospel, and with the miraculous powers of the primitive church: these, not being distributed to all its members, would seem to be introduced with but little propriety in the expression of a devout prayer for them all.

The following note deserves transcription, as coming from the pen of a writer who has published three Discourses for the

purpose of shewing, that the preservation of Christianity is entirely owing to the patronage and protection of the Civil powers.

‘ 2 Thess. ii. 8. And then shall that lawless one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the breath of his mouth, and will disable with the manifestation of his presence.

‘ *That lawless one*, &c. ὁ ἀνόντος. ‘ Who sets himself up above all laws, human and divine.’ Chandler. Grotius, who interprets the *man of sin*, of the Emperor Caligula, understands the person here predicted of Simon Magus. He is singular in his opinion. Expositors almost universally regard the whole description as relating to one and the same object, the anti-christian power. Protestant interpreters commonly apply the description to the Church of Rome; but it is more applicable to the establishment of a *corrupt and persecuting Christianity* by the civil power, in the reign of Constantine the Great. This took place, agreeably to the language of the prophecy, immediately upon the downfall of the Pagan empire; whereas popery, properly so called, did not commence till some centuries afterwards, as Protestants themselves allow. And why indeed should one apostasy be foretold, rather than another? Why the corrupt, persecuting, idolatrous establishments of the West, rather than those of the East? Aye, why the apostate, usurping, oppressive Catholic, rather than the apostate, persecuting Protestant Church, of every description, almost without exception? for all, when in power, have been equally intolerant; all have made themselves drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; all have bound upon the necks of those whom Christ made free, an iron yoke grievous to be borne; all have enforced their respective creeds by pains and penalties; all have propped up their disjointed fabrics by fraud and falsehood, by fine and imprisonment, by torments and death; and if Popery has slain its ten thousands, Protestantism may at least boast of having slain its thousands.

‘ Wherever, therefore, a church professing Christianity exists, wielding the power of the state to establish and support its own corrupt, unscriptural, and idolatrous system, there is a limb of the great *apostasy*; there, in the temple of God, sits the *man of sin*, exalting himself above all that is called God’s, whose coming is according to the operation of Satan, and whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the breath of his mouth, and consume with the brightness of his appearance.’

In connexion with the comment on the ‘ *man of sin*,’ Mr. Belsham asks, ‘ What can we think of those who, in the seventeenth century, when petitioning for their own toleration, expressly stipulated that their Anti-trinitarian brethren should be excluded?’—We have only to say in reply, that we reprobate the conduct of those persons in such proceedings as warmly as he does. But his “Three Discourses,” and the preceding remarks, have not much of a family resemblance.

The design of the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is
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stated by Mr. Belsham to be, to reconcile the minds of the Hebrew Christians to the doctrine of a suffering Messiah; 'to impress them with the fact that Jesus was a mortal man, not different from other men.' But how could this be at all necessary, if it were the belief of those same Jewish Christians, as Unitarians profess to teach, that the Messiah whom they were expecting, was to be a man in all respects like one of themselves, and nothing more than a human being? What prejudice could exist in their minds on that point, which could make it of moment for the Writer to enlarge on it so much in his address to them? To reconcile their minds to the doctrine of Christ's simple and exclusive humanity, was surely altogether a superfluous task in respect to persons who believed that doctrine; and we are told, that the 'Hebrew Christians were always strictly Unitarian.' But if this were the design of the Writer, 'to impress these Hebrew Christians with the fact, that Jesus was a mortal man, not different from other men,' he would appear to have adopted a singularly strange method of executing his purpose; and the readers of the Epistle must have needed some theological *Œdipus*, to solve the enigmas which the Epistle exhibits.

That it was a popular notion of the Jews, that angels are a permanent order of celestial spirits, we have Mr. Belsham's authority for assuming. (Vol. II. p. 74.) Now it must be allowed to be a singular method of effecting an important design, when a writer, having before him a term which would directly and unequivocally convey his meaning, convey it so clearly and so properly, that the very possibility of his reader's mistaking the import of his expressions would be excluded, adopts another term which does not explicitly exhibit the intended sense, and which, to say the least, perplexes the mind of the reader by its ambiguity. To introduce our example, we extract Mr. Belsham's Version of Hebrews i. 1-4.

' God, who in many parts, and in many ways, spake formerly to our fathers by the prophets, in these last days hath spoken to us by his son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, with a view to whom he even constituted the former dispensations.

' Who being an effulgent ray of his brightness, and an exact image of himself, and conducting all things by his powerful authority, after he had by himself made the purification of sins, sat down at the right hand of supreme majesty.

' Being become so much greater than those messengers, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they.'

It must appear strange, we say, that a writer should adopt this language to impress his readers with the fact, that the subject of this splendid diction was 'a mortal man, not dif-

ferent from other men.' Modern Unitarians who write with that design, never use a style like this; and one would suppose, that the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews could not have been less solicitous or less careful to be understood. "God spake to our fathers by the prophets"—"τοις προφήταις.—this certainly is not liable to any misconception. The Hebrew Christians could no otherwise understand this expression, than that the Divine Being had employed the ministry of the ancient prophets in the delivery of the messages of his will to their ancestors of the Jewish nation. Now it would be quite as easy for the Writer to convey his meaning intelligibly and definitely in the fourth verse, as he has done in the first; and had he wished to express himself in accordance with the design attributed to him of emphatically inculcating the simple exclusive humanity of Jesus Christ, he had only to preserve τοις προφήταις, those prophets, in the fourth verse, and his design would have been answered. No one could then have failed to perceive, that the superiority of Jesus to the prophets of the ancient economy, was the specific comparison instituted. Had this been his object, we should doubtless have read προφῆταις, *prophets*, instead of αγγεῖλαι, *angels*. But the latter is the reading, the uniform reading of all authorities. A word is used, which is of frequent occurrence as denoting a class of celestial spirits superior in nature to human beings, and the belief of the existence of which was an article in the popular faith of the ancient Jews.

To us, the use of αγγεῖλαι in this passage is a clear proof, that it was *not* the design of the Writer to impress the Hebrew Christians with the fact, that Jesus was nothing but a mortal man: his design, we are persuaded, was of an opposite kind.

We must reject then the interpretation given of τοις αγγεῖλαι, *those messengers*, referring to prophets; and adhere to the Common Version and to all other authorities, with the exception of modern Unitarians, in reading *angels*. Nor do we believe that, in a single definite example, the sense of *messengers* in reference to human beings, can be shewn to be intended by the use of the word throughout the whole of the Epistles of Paul, including the Epistle to the Hebrews. That the reading *angels*, is proper in some cases, Mr. Belsham himself maintains. In this Epistle, we have, "Unto angels (God) hath not committed the world to come"—"lower than the angels"—"layeth not hold of angels." Chap. ii. vss. 5, 7, 16. And in 1 Cor. iv. 9. we read, "a spectacle to—angels and to men;" on which text Mr. Belsham remarks :

'It is hardly necessary to observe, that the apostle here is not laying down any doctrine concerning angels, as of divine authority; but

that he is merely alluding to a popular notion of the Jews, of angels being a permanent order of celestial spirits, who were the medium of divine communications with mankind, which was a branch of oriental philosophy which the Jews had probably taken up during the captivity, and which was then become familiar.'

To translate *αγγέλου* by *messengers*, was found impracticable in this passage; but that the first acquaintance of the Jews with the doctrine of the existence of angels, should be assignable to the period of the Captivity, and to their knowledge of the Oriental philosophy, will seem not a little surprising to a reader of those books of Scripture which were in being long before the time of the Captivity!

The following passages of the Epistles included in Mr. Belsham's volumes, are all that occur, in which the words *αγγέλος* and *αγγέλοι* are exhibited; we give them as rendered in Mr. Belsham's version. Rom. viii. 38. 'I am persuaded that neither death—nor angels.' 1 Cor. iv. 9. 'A spectacle to angels.' vi. 3. 'we shall judge angels.' xiii. 1. 'If I speak in the languages of men and of angels.' 2 Cor. ii. 14. 'an angel of light.' Gal. i. 8. 'an angel from heaven.' Coloss. ii. 18. 'worship of angels.' 2 Thess. i. 7. 'the angels of his might.' Heb. ii. 5, 7, 9, 16. 'angels.' xiii. 2. 'angels.'—1 Cor. xi. 10. 'because of the messengers.' Galatians iii. 19. 'administered by messengers.' iv. 14. 'a messenger of God.' 1 Tim. iii. 15. 'appeared to his messengers.' v. 21. 'the chosen messengers.' Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7 twice, 13. 'messengers.' ii. 2. 'messengers.' xii. 22, 'messengers.' Of the passages here enumerated as presenting the reading *messengers*, the first is far enough from being a decisive instance of the usage: as to the second, Gal. iii. 19, we shall endeavour to shew that the interpretation of the following note is erroneous.

'*Administered by messengers.*'] διατάγεις, 'through the ministry of angels.' Wakefield.—I have given to this passage the sense which appears to me most natural and intelligible. Of the existence and ministry of angels we know nothing; nor does it concern us to know any thing. But that the law was communicated to Israel by Moses, as the medium of divine communications, and that the observation of it was enforced from age to age by a succession of prophets or divine messengers till the coming of Christ, is a fact perfectly intelligible, and much to the apostle's purpose. That the word *αγγέλος* will bear this sense, it would be superfluous to prove; and there can be little doubt that it is used in the same sense through the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. See Mr. Wakefield's translation.'

Vol. III. p. 67.

In this passage, the Apostle is clearly referring, not to any supposed succession of prophets, but to a specific circumstance in the history of the Divine dispensations, the giving of the law

from Sinai. He refers in vs. 17, to the precise date of its introduction—" the law which was given four hundred and thirty " years afterwards ;" to the purpose of its delivery—" it was " added because of transgression ;" and to the manner of its publication—" it was administered by angels in the hand of a " mediator." Stephen refers to this circumstance precisely in the same terms, Acts vii. 53. It is to the publication of the law at Sinai, that the Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews evidently alludes, Chap. ii. 2; and that transaction seems to be the object of frequent reference throughout the book. Deut. xxxiii. 2, is sufficient evidence to support the representation of the preceding texts.

In the only two remaining passages in which the word is rendered *messengers* by Mr. Belsham, (with the exception of those which occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews,) 1 Tim. iii. 16. v. 21, we are not sure that the reference is not to celestial, rather than to human beings ; there is at least no definite evidence that the latter are intended. On Heb. xii. 23, where Mr. Belsham translates *μυριάσιν αγγελῶν*, *to myriads of messengers*, he remarks, that the Writer may be understood as alluding especially to ' the great number of missionaries who were employed at the first promulgation of the gospel ; these,' he adds, ' are called *angels* or *messengers*, 2 Cor. viii. 33. Rev. i. ' 20.' These references are, however, of no avail. In the former place, the word is not *αγγελοί*, but *απόστολοί*, which is the proper expression in the Epistles of Paul, for *messengers* ; and in the latter, the term is clearly used in an appropriate and unusual acceptation, to which, perhaps, ' messenger' is by no means a parallel expression. We may therefore pronounce of the entire number of passages in which the word in question occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the common reading, *angels*, is correct, and that the substitution of the term ' *messengers*' as denoting prophets and teachers, is inadmissible : *λατουργικα πνευματα* in the 14th verse of the first chapter, would be so strange an expression for prophets, and is so appropriate a one for angels, that we cannot persuade ourselves that any critic, unless driven to it by the exigencies of his system, would ever give another meaning than that of the Common Version, to the passages of this book in which the word occurs. But we must strongly insist, that no writer in the supposed circumstances of the Author of this Epistle, writing to impress on the minds of the converted Hebrews the fact, that Jesus was a mortal man, though superior to the prophets, would, if that were his purpose, have introduced the word *αγγελοί* into the fourth verse, in relation to *προφῆται* in the first. It is not the fact, as Mr. Belsham states in his paraphrase of verse 4, that ' former prophets, however eminent their cha

'racter, or however important their mission, were not graced with the honourable appellation of son.' The ancient Jews universally included Solomon in the number of their prophets; he is repeatedly designated as a prophet in the Targums; and the honourable appellation of *son* was expressly given to Solomon. The words of the 5th verse, "I will be to him a father, " and he shall be to me a son," were spoken, Mr. Belsham himself states, of Solomon. But there is no instance of God's addressing himself in this manner to any one of the angels; and therefore angels, and not messengers as referring to prophets, must be the correct reading throughout this whole discourse.

As a proof that the advantages which Unitarians sometimes congratulate themselves on perceiving in their system, are more imaginary than real, we may refer to the supposed relevancy and force of Christ's example, on their hypothesis, inasmuch as it is the example of one who was 'a man like other men,' and nothing more. On any other supposition, his example would, it is contended, be of no use, for the 'cases of the teacher and the disciple would be totally dissimilar.' 'He was,' says Mr. Belsham, (on Heb. ii. 17.) 'a man like ourselves, who had all the frailties, all the feelings, and all the fears of a human being, and who suffered all the pains which any other man in the same circumstances would have endured.' But even on Unitarian principles, the cases of the teacher and the disciple are far from being parallel; they are, indeed, 'totally dissimilar.' The perfect exemption of Christ from guilt, is now conceded by Mr. Belsham: 'Christ in his moral character was sinless.' But if so, there must be the widest difference between the disciple and his Lord. There is a vast dissimilarity between the case of a sufferer who is perfectly free from all consciousness of sin, and others suffering with the consciousness of guilt: the former cannot have all the feelings and all the fears of the latter. The example of Christ, therefore, is in no respect more advantageous to Unitarians, who, while they deny his divinity, assert his entire moral purity, than it is to those who, believing his divinity, maintain his real humanity.

It would far exceed the limits to which a reviewer must confine his observations, if we should attempt to notice every passage in these volumes which is open to remark; and we must now hasten to the conclusion of the present article. With our persuasion of the unscriptural character of the tenets which find in Mr. Belsham so persevering an advocate, we cannot designate his labours as being either of high value, or of great utility. To some readers his sentiments will be surprising by their boldness, and others they will offend by their freedom;

though with the temper which pervades his volumes they will have less reason to quarrel, than with the spirit of some others of his publication. The plan of his work is, we think, to be approved. The translation is accompanied with an exposition, not in the manner of Doddridge, in which the paraphrase is incorporated with the text; but a portion of the text is immediately followed by one or more paragraphs of explanation, and in the bottom margin are inserted the notes. These are frequently borrowed, with due acknowledgements, but many of them are from the pen of the Translator. The version is professedly select, rather than new; and though, as might be expected, its theological character is in accordance with that of the Improved Version, it frequently deviates from it verbally: the translation is paraphrastical, rather than literal.

We agree with Mr. Belsham, that 'translators are then only to be censured, when, through the bias of system, they are induced to give a turn to the translation which the original does not warrant.' This 'bias of system' discovers itself frequently and strongly in these volumes. Mr. Belsham may be right in avowing that 'he translates passages which admit *equally* of two senses,' in that sense which is consonant with his own professed doctrine; but we are sure that we cannot be wrong in maintaining, that he is bound to shew, with regard to the passages which are thus treated as ambiguous, that the expressions do admit *equally* of two senses, and are so applied. For, unless this is the case, unless the words or phrases are well known to convey opposite or different meanings, the translator violates the most important duties of his office, and proceeds on a principle of accommodation which subjects the authority of the original to his own prejudices and caprice. In respect to such words or phrases as are once read only, *απαξ λεγομενα*, some difficulty will necessarily occur in fixing their meaning. But cases of this kind are excluded; and where the case is otherwise, and numerous examples are at hand of the use of a particular word or form of expression, the diversity of meaning should be shewn, by the production of an instance clear and unquestionable, of a meaning varying from the customary sense, and directly supporting another usage. Mr. Belsham was bound to produce an example of the formula *“επικαλουμενοι το ονομα*, expressly denoting a person's taking upon himself the name of some other person, before he ventured to translate the passage in 1 Cor. i. 2, and other parallel texts to which we have already referred, 'who take upon themselves the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' But he has produced no such instance; such an instance he is unable to produce: the New Testament furnishes no such instance; and the New Testament exhibits the formula with considerable frequency. Mr.

Belsham's translation is, in this case, without authority or sanction from the diction of the Scriptures, and is palpably and eminently an example of the bias of system. The facility with which Mr. Belsham can accommodate the language of the New Testament to the support of system, has often arrested our attention in proceeding through these volumes. He would not, we are persuaded, fail to represent as visionary, those deductions made by commentators in opposition to his own doctrines, from texts which afford far more support to their positions, than many passages which he has made subservient to hypotheses of his own, render to some of the tenets advanced in his Exposition. That any sober commentator should represent 1 Cor. xv. 24—28 as 'treating of the resurrection of the wicked, and 'of their eventual restoration to virtue and happiness,' after having 'passed through the necessary state of discipline and 'purification,' is to be explained only on the principle of *quidlibet ex quolibet*. Is there in the passage any intimation of such a corrective dispensation? 'The apostle,' says Mr. Belsham, 'in imagination passes over the state of future discipline, the process of which may last for ages.' But what reason can be assigned for this supposed omission? The resurrection of the righteous is a doctrine on which the Apostle is perfectly explicit: but in what part of his writings does he teach us, that a purifying process will be established for the correction and renovation of the impenitent? Is there in his epistles a declaration of any other doctrine than that which the New Testament with undeviating constancy exhibits, that the state which will succeed the present, will be retributive, final, and unchangeable? We have neither disposition nor feeling that would induce us to reject or explain away any revealed fact or principle; and we should without hesitation receive the doctrine in question, if, as Mr. Belsham declares, the Apostle had asserted it. But where is such assertion to be found? Where has the Apostle made himself 'intelligible' on that point? We cannot allow the abettors of that hypothesis to assert any superior claims to benevolence, or to take any advantage from their belief of it, over others who, on that subject, profess a different faith, in relation to either the profoundest reverence of God, or the warmest and most active charities in respect to men. The style of these volumes is correct and pure, but not always satisfactory to a reader who is pleased only with simplicity of diction. '*Lapse*,' '*elated*,' &c. are examples of objectionable words which occur in the work. '*Collated together*' (pref. p. 1) is not a very critical expression. The book is one of the most handsomely and carefully printed works that we have lately seen.

Art. III. *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22. By John Franklin, Captain, R. N. and Commander of the Expedition. Plates and Maps. pp. xvi. 768. 4to. Price 4l. 4s. London. 1829.*

THE principal phenomena of the Polar regions may now, we think, be considered as ascertained to the full extent of reasonable curiosity, and at the expense of too much anxiety and suffering to admit of any renewal of enterprise in that direction. The voyage of Captain Ross, however it might have been misconducted in one important instance, was satisfactory in its determination of the general character of what is usually called Baffin's Bay, though it left undecided the question of the continuity of its coast, by his neglecting to explore to their closures or their outlets the numerous openings which break its outline. The expedition of Captain Parry cleared up this point in the case of what has been hitherto called Lancaster's Sound, and solved many of the most interesting problems in different branches of Arctic investigation. And the narrative of extreme but resolute endurance which lies before us, has sufficiently determined the limit of the American continent in one portion of its bearing, to give, in connexion with previous discoveries, an unequivocal indication of its general form. The deficiencies of Hearne have been supplied, his errors corrected, and additional value given to the discoveries of Mackenzie, by adjusting them to a more accurate scale.

When the British Government had resolved on sending out a second expedition under Captain Parry, to complete, as far as might be practicable, the track of discovery which he had so skilfully commenced in his first, it was, at the same time, determined to explore the land route by the Copper-mine river, and the trending of the coast from the mouth of that stream to the eastern extremity of the American continent. At the head of the party selected for this arduous service, was placed Lieut. Franklin, who has amply justified the recommendation which led to his appointment, by the perfect combination of prudence, courage, and ability, which he displayed throughout. Indeed, there seems to have been a very sound discrimination exercised in the choice of the little band to which the enterprise was consigned. Dr. John Richardson, with Lieutenants Hood and Back, were indefatigable in their exertions; and John Hepburn, the 'English Seaman,' was a man of admirable qualities: to his activity, fidelity, and 'uniform good conduct in the most trying situations,' 'we owe,' writes Capt. Franklin, 'under Divine Providence, the preservation of the lives of some of the party.' The instructions

given to the Travellers, directed their attention to the usual objects; the determination of geographical positions, the observation of atmospheric appearances and variations, and the general improvement of natural science. In addition to these, they were enjoined to take every method of conveying information to Captain Parry, by the erection of 'conspicuous marks' pointing out the situation of favourable points for the entrance of ships or the landing of boats. Messrs. Hood and Back were the draughtsmen, and Dr. Richardson the naturalist.

Lieut. Franklin and his companions sailed on the 23d of May 1819, in a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. He had relied on being able to procure a sufficient number of hands to convey the necessary provisions as far as possible into the interior, when he should arrive at the Company's American Factory; but, ascertaining from some of his fellow passengers, the improbability that men enough could be spared for that indispensable service, he engaged, on his arrival at Stromness, four Orkney fishermen, who engaged to accompany the Expedition as far as Fort Chepewyan.

'I was much amused,' he says, 'with the extreme caution these men used before they would sign the agreement; they minutely scanned all our intentions, weighed every circumstance, looked narrowly into the plan of our route, and still more circumspectly to the prospect of return. Such caution on the part of the Northern Mariners forms a singular contrast with the ready and thoughtless manner in which an English Seaman enters upon any enterprise, however hazardous, without enquiring, or desiring to know, where he is going, or what he is going about.'

On the 7th of August, while the vessel in which they had embarked was struggling with the ice and the currents at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, they were in circumstances of extreme peril. Surrounded with a dense fog, and unable in the smallest degree to control the movements of the ship, which drifted at the mercy of the eddies occasioned by the masses of ice, they found themselves within a few yards of 'a barren, rugged shore towering over the mast-heads.' The vessel struck, but was heaved off by a gentle swell, and 'hurried along in contact with the rocky shore.' The rudder had been displaced by the previous shock, and no prospect appeared but that of inevitable destruction. While passing over a ledge of rocks, they struck a second time; but the blow replaced the rudder, and enabled them to take advantage of a light breeze, and to direct their course to seaward of a projecting cliff which threatened to complete this series of disasters. The wind, however, died away before they had

cleared the point, and they were, a third time, driven aground. Again the hand of Providence appeared; the swell lifted them off, and, as they were drifting towards another promontory, the sails once more caught the breeze, and the ship drew off shore.

' We had made but little progress, however, when she was violently forced by the current against a large ice-berg lying aground After the first concussion, the ship was driven along the steep and rugged side of this ice-berg with such amazing rapidity, that the destruction of the masts seemed inevitable, and every one expected we should again be forced on the rocks in the most disabled state; but we providentially escaped this perilous result, which must have been decisive.'

Of all this, a dangerous leak was the consequence; but it was partially stopped, and on the 30th, the ship anchored at York Factory, where they met with a hospitable reception from Mr. Williams, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. After a very short interval occupied in preparation, Captain Franklin and his associates commenced, on the 9th of September 1819, their journey into the interior. Their first object was Cumberland House, one of the Company's posts, in latitude $53^{\circ} 56' 40''$ N. longitude, $102^{\circ} 16' 41''$ W. The route was by Hayes' river, or its tributary streams, and the boat was urged forward by sails, oars, or tracking, as circumstances required. A careful survey by bearings and calculation, was regularly made by Messrs. Back and Hood, and corrected by observations taken, as frequently as the weather would admit, by Capt. Franklin. Mr. H. protracted the route every evening on a ruled map; and the diligence and extraordinary talent of that young officer in this line of service, are strongly commended by his Commander. On the 14th, they had an opportunity of admiring the dexterity of two Indians, who, with no weapon but a hatchet, had contrived to kill, in a single day, ' *two deer, a hawk, a curlew, and a sturgeon,*' the inhabitants of earth, air, and water. A rocky islet, of magnetic iron ore, in Knee Lake, which they passed on the 25th, ' totally overpowered' the regular traversing of the compass. At another place, they were compelled to break a passage through a newly constructed beaver-dam; it was stated that the animal would close the breach in the course of a single night. They reached Lake Winnipeg early in October.

' The waters of Lake Winnipeg, and of the rivers that run into it, the Saskatchewan in particular, are rendered turbid by the suspension of a large quantity of white clay. Play Green Lake and Nelson River, being the discharges of the Winnipeg, are equally opaque; a circumstance that renders the sunken rocks, so frequent in these

waters, very dangerous to boats in a fresh breeze. Owing to this, one of the boats that accompanied us, sailing at the rate of seven miles an hour, struck upon one of these rocks. Its mast was carried away by the shock, but fortunately, no other damage was sustained. The Indians ascribe the muddiness of these lakes to an adventure of one of their deities, a mischievous fellow, a sort of Robin Puck, whom they hold in very little esteem. This deity, who is named Weesakootchaht, possesses considerable power, but makes a capricious use of it, and delights in tormenting the poor Indians. He is not, however, invincible, and was foiled in one of his attempts by the artifice of an old woman, who succeeded in taking him captive. She called in all the women of the tribe to aid in his punishment, and he escaped from their hands in a condition so filthy, that it required all the waters of the Great Lake to wash him clean; and ever since that period, it has been entitled to the appellation of Winnipeg, or Muddy Water.' pp. 42, 43.

It was on the 22d of October, that the Travellers reached Fort Cumberland, where they were received by Governor Williams, who had previously passed them on the river. The winter had now commenced, and they determined on accepting that gentleman's invitation to remain with him, instead of pressing forward their journey at an impracticable season.

The Indians appear to be great sufferers from the effects of disease and severe weather. The hooping-cough and the measles had, at the time of Capt. Franklin's journey, made great ravages among them; and the combined efforts of debility and depression, had prevented the hunters from obtaining the usual supply of food. Under such circumstances, their distress has been known to drive them to desperate remedies. 'A shocking case was cited of a woman who had been principal agent in the destruction of several persons, and, amongst the number, her husband and nearest relatives, in order to support life.' While the Expedition was detained at Cumberland House, an Indian came to the post, with his wife and the body of his only child. He had been hunting separately from his tribe, and the epidemical disease had seized upon them all. When the fever had abated, he set out for the fort, having been for some time destitute of any food excepting the morsels of skin and offal which had been previously rejected. The sole anxiety of the parents, intense as were their own sufferings, was directed to the preservation of their infant, which the exhausted parent bore in his arms. It died when they had nearly reached their journey's end; and 'no language,' says Dr. Richardson, 'can describe the manner in which the miserable father dashed the morsel from his lips, and deplored the loss of his child.' The Crees, or Kris-teneaux, are the natives of this quarter; they were formerly

distinguished for valour and ferocity, but, in this respect, they are much altered, and no longer retain their superiority among the surrounding tribes. They are now of a more peaceable cast, with the usual vices and good qualities of the savage character. They are affectionate and hospitable, but changeable, improvident, indolent, and fatally addicted to the use of spirituous liquors. Their conjurers turn their superstitious fears to good account.

• A fellow of this description came to Cumberland House in the winter of 1819. Notwithstanding the then miserable state of the Indians, the rapacity of this wretch had been preying upon their necessities, and a poor hunter was actually at the moment pining away under the influence of his threats. The mighty conjurer, immediately on his arrival at the house, began to trumpet forth his powers, boasting, among other things, that although his hands and feet were tied as securely as possible, yet, when placed in a conjuring-house, he would speedily disengage himself by the aid of two or three familiar spirits, who were attendant on his call. He was instantly taken at his word, and that his exertions might not be without an aim, a *capot* or great coat was promised as the reward of his success. A conjuring-house having been erected in the usual form, that is, by sticking four willows in the ground, and tying their tops to a hoop at the height of six or eight feet, he was fettered completely by winding several fathoms of rope round his body and extremities, and placed in its narrow apartment, not exceeding two feet in diameter. A moose-skin being then thrown over the frame, secluded him from our view. He forthwith began to chant a kind of hymn in a very monotonous tone. The rest of the Indians, who seemed in some doubt respecting the powers of a devil when put in competition with those of a white man, ranged themselves around, and watched the result with anxiety. Nothing remarkable occurred for a long time. The conjuror continued his song at intervals, and it was occasionally taken up by those without. In this manner an hour and a half elapsed; but at length, our attention, which had begun to flag, was roused by the violent shaking of the conjuring-house. It was instantly whispered round the circle, that at least one devil had crept under the moose-skin. But it proved to be only the 'God-like man' trembling with cold. He had entered the lists, stript to the skin, and the thermometer stood very low that evening. His attempts were continued, however, with considerable resolution for half an hour longer, when he reluctantly gave in. He had found no difficulty in slipping through the noose when it was formed by his countrymen; but, in the present instance, the knot was tied by Governor Williams, who is an expert sailor. After this unsuccessful exhibition, his credit sunk amazingly, and he took the earliest opportunity of sneaking away from the fort.

• About two years ago, a conjuror paid more dearly for his temerity. In a quarrel with an Indian, he threw out some obscure threats of vengeance, which passed unnoticed at the time, but were

afterwards remembered. They met in the spring at Carlton House, after passing the winter in different parts of the country, during which the Indian's child died. The conjuror had the folly to boast that he had caused its death, and the enraged father shot him dead on the spot. It may be remarked, however, that both these Indians were inhabitants of the plains, and had been taught, by their intercourse with the turbulent Stone Indians, to set but comparatively little value on the life of a man.' pp. 64, 65.

Their traditions respecting the origin of the present earth, are clearly deduced from the Noetic deluge. The fish had quarrelled with a sort of genius or demigod, who is distinguished by the harmonious name of Wiesack-ootchacht, and with the intention of drowning him and his family, conjured up a mighty flood. He constructed a raft on which he embarked not only his kindred, but every species of bird and beast. After the waters had continued a long time, he employed some of his water-fowl in diving; but they successively perished in the attempt to reach the bottom, until the muskrat succeeded in bringing up a mouthful of earth, out of which Wiesack manufactured a new *terra firma*. This worthy personage is the same that we have previously commemorated as the mud demon of Lake Winnipeg. The Indians appear to hold him in little esteem; they offer him no sacrifice, nor, in any way, make acknowledgement of his divinity. Such worship as they can be said to pay, is given to a being called Kepoo-chikawn, who is represented either by rude imitations of the human figure, or by a few willow bushes tied together at the top. With a view to obtain success in hunting, they propitiate the *animal*, 'an imaginary representation of the whole race of larger quadrupeds that are objects of the chase.' The Indians, though they do not seem to pay distinct worship to any other being, will often speak of the Keetchee-Maneeto, or Great Master of Life, and of an evil spirit called Maatche-Maneeto. They also describe a kind of vampyre, or demon, into which those are changed who feed on human flesh. While Dr. Richardson was at Carlton, he availed himself of an opportunity which presented itself, to question a 'communicative old Indian, of the Blackfoot nation,' concerning the opinions entertained by his tribe respecting a future state.

' He replied, that they had heard from their fathers, that the souls of the departed have to scramble with great labour up the sides of a steep mountain, upon attaining the summit of which, they are rewarded with the prospect of an extensive plain, interspersed here and there with new tents, pitched in agreeable situations, and abounding in all sorts of game. Whilst they are absorbed in the contemplation of this delightful scene, they are descried by the inhabitants of the happy land, who, clothed in new skins, approach and welcome with

every demonstration of kindness, those Indians who have led good lives; but the bad Indians, who have imbrued their hands in the blood of their countrymen, are told to return from whence they came, and, without more ceremony, precipitated down the steep sides of the mountain.

‘ Women, who have been guilty of infanticide, never reach the mountain at all, but are compelled to hover round the seats of their crimes, with branches of trees tied to their legs. The melancholy sounds which are heard in the still summer evenings, and which the ignorance of the white people considers as the screams of the goat-sucker, are really, according to my informant, the moanings of these unhappy beings.

‘ The Crees have somewhat similar notions; but, as they inhabit a country widely different from the mountainous lands of the Black-foot Indians, the difficulty of their journey lies in walking along a slender and slippery tree, laid as a bridge across a rapid stream of stinking and muddy water. The night-owl is regarded by the Crees with the same dread that it has been viewed by other nations. One small species, which is known to them by its melancholy nocturnal hootings, (for, as it never appears in the day, few even of the hunters have ever seen it,) is particularly ominous. They call it the *cheepai-peethes*, or death bird, and never fail to whistle when they hear its note. If it does not reply to the whistle by its hootings, the speedy death of the inquirer is augured.’ pp. 77, 78.

The *half-casts*, derived from the intercourse of Europeans with native females, have become extremely numerous, and, as is usually the case with *Mestizos*, are a worthless and licentious race. A decided difference is, however, said to subsist, in this respect, between the children of the Orkney men, and those of the Canadian *voyageurs*. The former have usually some attention paid to their education; the latter, none whatever: the consequence is manifest in the better qualities of the semi-Europeans.

Although it was found expedient for the main body to halt at Fort Cumberland, Capt. Franklin resolved on pushing forward to a more advanced settlement, for the purpose of procuring information, and making arrangements connected with the prosecution of the journey to the northward. Jan. 18, 1820, he set out, accompanied by Mr. Back and John Hepburn, with fifteen days’ provision loaded on sledges. Of their personal equipment, the most novel feature consisted in the snow-shoes, each from four to six feet long, by one foot and a half wide, and weighing about two pounds. These useful machines are made of two longitudinal bars of wood, meeting at the extremities, and kept apart in the intermediate space by transverse pieces, the interstices of which are filled up by a close network of leather. The front curves upward like the prow of a canoe, and straps are fastened to the middle into

which the toes are inserted, while the heel plays freely in an open socket. The contrivance is an ingenious one, as it avoids the necessity of lifting a fatiguing weight, but it requires practice to accustom the feet to the motion, which galls them severely before they acquire dexterity in its use. After fourteen days' travelling, Capt. Franklin and his party reached Carlton House; a palatine title oddly enough applied to a log-hut in the wilds of North America. Here they were in the neighbourhood of the Stone Indians, a far more savage race than the degenerate Kristeneaux. They are much addicted to stealing, and horses they hold to be general property, fairly seizable at all times and places. They will probably be better known to our readers under their old name of Assiniboins, or, as it is written by Dr. Richardson, Asseenaboine; a distinctive term common among former writers on Indian manners and history. They are a branch of the great stock of the Iroquois. The following extract will give a sufficient description of the predatory and murderous habits of this ferocious tribe.

‘ About two years ago, a band of them had the audacity to attempt to take away some horses which were grazing before the gate of the N. W. Company's fort; and, after braving the fire from the few people then at the establishment through the whole day, and returning their shots occasionally, they actually succeeded in their enterprize. One man was killed on each side. They usually strip defenceless persons whom they meet, of all their garments, but particularly of those which have buttons, and leave them to travel home in that state, however severe the weather. If resistance is expected, they not unfrequently murder before they attempt to rob. The traders, when they travel, invariably keep some men on guard to prevent surprise, whilst the others sleep; and often practise the stratagem of lighting a fire at sunset, which they leave burning, and move on after dark to a more distant encampment. Yet, these precautions do not always baffle the depredators. Such is the description of men whom the traders of this river have constantly to guard against. It must require a long residence among them, and much experience of their manners, to overcome the painful apprehensions their hostility and threats are calculated to excite. Through fear of having their provisions and supplies entirely cut off, the traders are often obliged to overlook the grossest offences, even murder, though the delinquents present themselves with unblushing effrontery almost immediately after the fact, and perhaps boast of having committed it. They do not, on detection, consider themselves under any obligation to deliver up what they have stolen, without receiving an equivalent.

‘ The Stone Indians keep in amity with their neighbours the Crees, from motives of interest; and the two tribes unite in determined hostility against the nations dwelling to the westward, which are generally called Slave Indians—a term of reproach applied by

the Crees to those tribes against whom they have waged successful wars. The Slave Indians are said greatly to resemble the Stone Indians, being equally desperate and daring in their acts of aggression and dishonesty towards the traders.

'These parties go to war almost every summer, and sometimes muster three or four hundred horsemen on each side. Their leaders, in approaching the foe, exercise all the caution of the most skilful generals; and whenever either party considers that it has gained the best ground, or finds it can surprise the other, the attack is made. They advance at once to close quarters, and the slaughter is consequently great, though the battle may be short. The prisoners of either sex are seldom spared, but are slain on the spot with wanton cruelty. The dead are scalped, and he is considered the bravest person, who bears the greatest number of scalps from the field. These are afterwards attached to his war dress, and worn as proofs of his prowess. The victorious party, during a certain time, blacken their faces and every part of their dress in token of joy, and in that state they often come to the establishment, if near, to testify their delight by dancing and singing, bearing all the horrid insignia of war, to display their individual feats. When in mourning, they completely cover their dress and hair with white mud.' pp. 105—107.

In these and a few other characteristics, they discover an affinity to the Missouri Indians; but they are evidently much more degraded.

On the 9th of February, Capt. Franklin and his party left Carlton, and on the 23d, reached the Hudson's Bay establishment at Isle à la Crosse. On the 26th of March, they closed this division of their journey at Fort Chipewyan, where they were joined on July 13th, by Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood. The intermediate period was actively employed by Capt. F. in procuring information, and making preparations. The Chipewyan Indians have been so often and so recently described, particularly by Hearne and Mackenzie, that we shall not extract any portion of the few illustrations given in the present volume, with the exception of the following curious anecdote.

'The Northern Indians' (the Chipewyans) 'suppose that they originally sprang from a dog; and, about five years ago, a superstitious fanatic so strongly pressed upon their minds the impropriety of employing these animals, to which they were related, for purposes of labour, that they universally resolved against using them any more, and, strange as it may seem, destroyed them. They now have to drag every thing themselves on sledges. This laborious task falls most heavily on the women.'

July 18, 1820, the party, with the addition of sixteen Canadian *voyageurs*, proceeded on their route, with a slender supply of provisions, and three bark canoes. Their journey led them, as before, along rivers, lakes, and portages. The navigation

was frequently interrupted by rapids, some of which were extremely dangerous. The last portage, or place where the canoes are usually carried over land, received its name, 'the *'Portage of the drowned,'* from a melancholy accident, which will shew the hazardous nature of this mode of travelling.

' Two canoes arrived at the upper end of the portage, in one of which there was an experienced guide. This man, judging from the height of the river, deemed it practicable to shoot the rapid, and determined upon trying it. He accordingly placed himself in the bow of his canoe, having previously agreed, that if the passage was found easy, he should, on reaching the bottom of the rapid, fire a musket, as a signal for the other canoe to follow. The rapid proved dangerous, and called forth all the skill of the guide, and the utmost exertion of his crew, and they narrowly escaped destruction. Just as they were landing, an unfortunate fellow seizing the loaded fowling-piece, fired at a duck which rose at the instant. The guide anticipating the consequences, ran with the utmost haste to the other end of the portage, but he was too late: the other canoe had pushed off, and he arrived only to witness the fate of his comrades. They got alarmed in the middle of the rapid, the canoe was upset, and every man perished.' pp. 195, 6.

At Fort Providence, the most important of the necessary arrangements were made. Mr. Frederick Wentzel, in the employ of the North-West Company, a gentleman well acquainted with the Chipewyan language, and long a resident in the country, engaged to accompany the Expedition to the mouth of the Copper-mine river; and assistance was procured from Akaitcho, an Indian chief. The whole party then consisted, Europeans, Americans, and Indians, of twenty-eight individuals. Captain Franklin found himself unable to carry into execution his earnest wish to push forward at once to the river, and was under the necessity of taking up his winter quarters at a spot, called by him Fort Enterprise, having travelled four hundred and fifty-three miles since his departure from Fort Chipewyan.

The interval from August 19th, 1820, to June 14th of the following year, was actively and variously occupied. Excursions were taken in different directions, and the proper route to the Copper-mine river was ascertained by inspection. When the Travellers at length started for the final object of the Expedition, they were accompanied by Akaitcho and his people. They reached the sea on the 18th of July, their Indian companions having left them a few hours previously. Mr. Wentzel quitted them on his return the next day, when the party, reduced in number to twenty, prepared to explore the coast to the eastward. Their encampment was in latitude $67^{\circ} 47' 50''$

N., longitude $115^{\circ} 36' 49''$ W., the variation of the compass $46^{\circ} 25' 52''$ E. No situation can be conceived more discouraging to enterprise, than that in which Captain F. and his companions were now placed. With a thousand charges of powder and ball, and fifteen days' provision, they were about to embark in two canoes, on an unknown and inhospitable ocean. The Canadian boatmen were a great annoyance, owing to their shameless and improvident gluttony: instead of husbanding their store, they thought only of the present moment, and would, if unrestrained, have consumed the sustenance of a week, at a single meal. On the whole, however, these men displayed great courage and perseverance during a voyage on an element with which they were little conversant, and attended with circumstances of danger and privation. The high sense of duty, and the hope of reward and fame, which actuated the Commander and his officers, did not exist for their subordinate agents; and it must have required a continual exercise of firmness and temper, to over-rule their tendency to resist, and to keep their spirits from absolute despondency.

The coast voyage of five hundred and fifty-five geographical miles, which brought the Expedition to its last encampment in lat. $68^{\circ} 18' 50''$ N., longitude $110^{\circ} 5' 15''$ W., subsequently corrected, to $109^{\circ} 25' 00''$ W., was protracted by the accumulation of ice in Detention Harbour, by the loss of 'nine invaluable days in exploring' Bathurst's Inlet, and by the necessity for examining the deep indentation of Arctic and Melville Sounds. In fact, the distance which Captain Franklin passed over in this tedious coasting, would, if he had been previously acquainted with the navigation, and could have stretched across the openings, have carried him nearly to Repulse Bay, supposing the correctness of its assigned longitude. We shall insert Captain Franklin's observations at this concluding point of his discoveries.

'Our researches, as far as they have gone, seem to favour the opinion of those who contend for the practicability of a north-west passage. The general line of coast probably runs East and West, nearly in the latitude assigned to Mackenzie's River, the Sound into which Kotzebue entered, and Repulse Bay; and very little doubt can, in my opinion, be entertained of the existence of a continued sea, in or about that line of direction. The existence of whale, too, on this part of the coast, evidenced by the whalebone we found in Esquimaux Cove, may be considered as an argument for an open sea; and a connexion with Hudson's Bay is rendered more probable from the same kind of fish abounding on the coasts we visited, and on those to the North of Churchill river. I allude more particularly to the Capelin or *Salmo arcticus*, which we found in large shoals in Bathurst's Inlet, and which not only abounds, as Augustus told us,

in the bays in his country, but swarms in the Greenland firths.* The portion of the sea ones which we passed, is navigable for vessels of any size; the ice we met, particularly after quitting Detention Harbour, would not have arrested a strong boat. The chain of Islands affords shelter from all heavy seas, and there are good harbours at convenient distances. I entertain, indeed, sanguine hopes that the skill and exertions of my friend Captain Parry will soon render this question no longer problematical. His task is doubtless an arduous one, and, if ultimately successful, may occupy two, and perhaps three seasons; but confiding as I do, from personal knowledge, in his perseverance and talent for surmounting difficulties, the strength of his ships, and the abundance of provisions with which they are stored, I have very little apprehension of his safety. As I understand his object was to keep the coast of America close on board, he will find in the spring of the year, before the breaking up of the ice can permit him to pursue his voyage, herds of deer flocking in abundance to all parts of the coast, which may be procured without difficulty; and even later in the season, additions to his stock of provision may be obtained on many parts of the coast, should circumstances give him leisure to send out hunting parties. With the trawl or seine nets also, he may almost every where get abundance of fish, even without retarding his progress. Under these circumstances, I do not conceive that he runs any hazard of wanting provisions, should his voyage be prolonged even beyond the latest period of time which is calculated upon. Drift timber may be gathered at many places in considerable quantities; and there is a fair prospect of his opening a communication with the Esquimaux, who come down to the coast to kill seals in the spring, previous to the ice breaking up; and from whom, if he succeeds in conciliating their good-will, he may obtain provision, and much useful assistance.' pp. 388, 389.

In the state of destitution to which the party was reduced, and under the impossibility of finding subsistence during the return to the mouth of Copper-mine River, it became necessary to fix on some intermediate point at which to commence their inland journey; it was, in consequence, determined to pursue the ascending line of Hood's River,—a stream emptying itself into Arctic Sound. Aug. 22nd was the date of their retrograde movement. The fear of wanting food absorbing every other terror, the men voluntarily hazarded the traverse of Melville Sound, a run of fifteen miles, before a stiff breeze and a heavy sea. Though the canoes were within hail, the high waves often hid the mast of one from the other; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the boats were kept from broaching to in mid channel, where the sea was most violent, and the possibility of escape nearly hopeless. On the 25th, they reached the first

rapid in Hood's River, and encamped. The Canadians were now in high spirits 'at having turned their backs on the sea,' and amused themselves with humorous and exaggerated recapitulation of their past adventures. On reaching the magnificent falls of Wilberforce, it was found impracticable to make any further use of the canoes, and they were broken up for the purpose of reconstructing them on a smaller scale. At an early period of the journey, the larger of these was rendered unserviceable, probably from intention, as the Canadians had murmured at the fatigue occasioned by the necessity for carrying these vehicles by hand, after leaving the stream of the Hood. Cold, hunger, and debility, now visited the Travellers with combined severity. Lichens, called by the Canadians *tripe de roche*, eked out their scanty repast: at times, though injurious to some, and affording little nourishment to any, they furnished their only meal. Had Capt. Franklin been aware of his exact position, much delay, and a serious accident might have been avoided; but the errors of Hearne's map misled him, and by crossing a river instead of keeping to the westward, he exposed himself to much consequent embarrassment and suffering. In crossing a rapid on Sept. 14th, some of the party were in imminent danger, and the canoe was nearly lost. Their sufferings increased daily; bones, rendered friable by burning, deer skins, and even 'old shoes,' were acceptable food. The men became desperate, and refused any longer to carry the canoe; a determination which afterwards severely aggravated their calamities. Occasionally, a supply of flesh was obtained from a passing flock of deer; and, but for this, it seems hardly probable that any would have survived to tell the story of their misery. They reached the Copper-mine river on the 26th of Sept.; and the necessity for crossing it, compelled the Canadians to deplore their folly in abandoning the canoe. At length, a substitute was made of the painted canvas in which the bedding was folded up, and with some difficulty, the whole of the party was ferried across. Such was their present condition, that the putrid carcase of a deer was a feast, and the corrupt marrow of the spine, though 'so acrid as to excoriate the lips,' was deemed 'a valuable prize.' The unpalatable and unwholesome *tripe de roche* was the staple food, and scarcely left them strength to gather it. Previously to passing the river, one of the Esquimaux, called Junius, who had joined the Expedition, had been for some time missing, but it was hoped that he would be able to fall in with some of the wandering hordes of his countrymen. After reaching the southern bank, Mr. Back and three of the Canadians were sent forward, while the remainder followed with

slower steps. After his departure, two of the hindmost division failed; and Dr. Richardson, with Mr. Hood and Hepburn, proposed to halt in a thicket of small willows. This step was, on the part of Mr. H., the result of inability to proceed further; Dr. R. was moved to it by his unwillingness to forsake his helpless companion; and Hepburn by the fine feeling which uniformly led him to neglect his own comfort whenever he could assist his officers. A few miles further, Belanger, another Canadian, and Michel, an Iroquois Indian, declared their inability to proceed, and their intention of returning to the tent which had been pitched for Mr. Hood and his friends. Soon after this, a *voyageur*, named Perrault, turned back; and about two miles in advance, Tontano, an Italian, sunk under his fatigue. The remaining few proceeded as well as they were able, staggering at every step, and frequently blown down by the violence of the wind. They were now within a few miles of Fort Enterprise, where they expected to find that Mr. Wentzel and the Indian chief had taken care to make sufficient provision for their supply. Five only in number, they reached it, and found it empty and desolate: 'there was no deposite of provision, no trace of the Indians, no letter from Mr. Wentzel to point out where the Indians might be found.' Our readers may in part be able to imagine the intense agony of this moment. Not only their own lives, but those of the unfortunate men whom they had left behind, had been suspended on the hope of a sufficient supply at this place; and the man on whom they depended, had clearly dismissed from his mind the possibility of their return. A note was found written by Mr. Back, stating that he had reached the House two days before, but, finding no resources there, had gone forward in search of the Indians, and, in the event of not meeting with them, that he should make for Fort Providence. The situation of Capt. Franklin seemed now to have reached its height of hopelessness. It was quite uncertain whether Mr. Back would find the Indians, and if he failed, he had himself expressed his fears that he should not have strength enough left to enable him to reach Providence. The log-hut in which Capt. F. and his companions were, afforded them a miserable shelter against the weather, and the temperature of the atmosphere was from 15° to 20° below zero. They could only get firing by pulling up the floors, water by melting the snow, and food by boiling putrid bones with salt and *tripe de roche*. An attempt made by Capt. Franklin to follow Mr. Back, proved unsuccessful, and he returned to the House. While they were seated round the fire, in the evening of Oct. 29th.,

discoursing about the anticipated relief, the conversation was suddenly interrupted by Peltier's exclaiming with joy, " ah ! le monde !" imagining that he heard the Indians in the other room. Immediately afterwards, to his bitter disappointment, Dr. Richardson and Hepburn entered, each carrying his bundle. Peltier, however, soon recovered himself enough to express his joy at their safe arrival, and his regret that their companions were not with them. When I saw them alone, my own mind was instantly filled with apprehensions respecting my friend Hood, and our other companions, which were immediately confirmed by the Doctor's melancholy communication, that Mr. Hood and Michel were dead. Perrault and Tontano had neither reached the tent, nor been heard of by them. This intelligence produced a melancholy despondency in the minds of my party, and on that account the particulars were deferred until another opportunity. We were all shocked at beholding the emaciated countenances of the Doctor and Hepburn, as they strongly evidenced their extremely debilitated state. The alteration in our appearance was equally distressing to them; for, since the swellings were subsided, we were little more than skin and bone. The Doctor particularly remarked the sepulchral tone of our voices, which he requested us to make more cheerful if possible, unconscious that his own partook of the same key.' pp. 446, 447.

At the first fitting opportunity, Dr. Richardson detailed to his Commander the particulars of the tragedy which had deprived the service of an accomplished officer. When Michel, the Iroquois, returned, as we have already stated, to the party at the tent, he came alone, but delivered to them a hare and a partridge which he had shot as he came. On his favourable report, they removed their tent to a spot at some distance, where fuel was more abundant. The conduct of the Iroquois soon, however, became very suspicious; he refused to hunt, and became sullen and unmanageable. The rest must be told in Dr. Richardson's own words.

' Sunday Oct. 20. In the morning, we again urged Michel to go a hunting, that he might, if possible, leave us some provision, to-morrow being the day appointed for his quitting us; but he shewed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire, under the pretence of cleaning his gun. After we had read the morning service, I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent at the fire-side, arguing with Michel; Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire-wood before he left us. A short time after I went out, I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterwards Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived, I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fire-side, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea, that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of

his Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed, when, upon examining the body, I discovered that the shot had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person. Upon inquiring of Michel how it happened, he replied that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off, he did not know whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand at the time he was speaking to me. Hepburn afterwards informed me, that, previous to the report of the gun, Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated angry tone; that Mr. Hood being seated at the fire-side, was hid from him by intervening willows, but that, on hearing the report, he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go to the fire at first; and when Michel called to him that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. Although I dared not openly to evince any suspicion that I thought Michel guilty of the deed, yet, he repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such an act, kept constantly on his guard, and carefully avoided leaving Hepburn and me together. He was evidently afraid of permitting us to converse in private, and whenever Hepburn spoke, he inquired if he accused him of the murder. It is to be remarked, that he understood English very imperfectly, yet, sufficiently to render it unsafe for us to speak on the subject in his presence. We removed the body into a clump of willows behind the tent, and returning to the fire, read the funeral service in addition to the evening prayers. The loss of a young officer of such distinguished and varied talents and application, may be felt and duly appreciated by the eminent characters under whose command he had served; but the calmness with which he contemplated the probable termination of a life of uncommon promise, and the patience and fortitude with which he sustained, I may venture to say, unparalleled bodily sufferings, can only be known to the companions of his distresses. Owing to the effect that the *tripe de roche* invariably had when he ventured to taste it, he undoubtedly suffered more than any of the survivors of the party. *Bickersteth's Scripture Help* was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand; and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death. We passed the night in the tent together without rest, every one being on his guard. Next day, having determined on going to the Fort, we began to patch and prepare our clothes for the journey. We singed the hair off a part of the Buffalo robe that belonged to Mr. Hood, and boiled and ate it. Michel tried to persuade me to go to the woods on the Copper-mine river, and hunt for deer instead of

going to the Fort. In the afternoon, a flock of partridges coming near the tent, he killed several, which he shared with us.

Thick snowy weather and a head wind prevented us from starting the following day; but, on the morning of the 23rd, we set out, carrying with us the remainder of the singed robe. Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and I carried a small pistol, which Hepburn had loaded for me. In the course of the march, Michel alarmed us much by his gestures and conduct, was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to the Fort, and tried to persuade me to go to the southward to the woods, where he said he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. In consequence of this behaviour, and the expression of his countenance, I requested him to leave us and to go to the southward by himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature; he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow; and I overheard him muttering threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told stories against him. He also, for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing me, as evinced that he considered us to be completely in his power; and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or, as he termed us, in the idiom of the voyageurs, the French, some of whom, he said, had killed and eaten his uncle and two of his relations. In short, taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, I came to the conclusion, that he would attempt to destroy us on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of the way to the Fort, but that he would never suffer us to go thither in company with him. In the course of the day, he had several times remarked that we were pursuing the same course that Mr. Franklin was doing when he left him, and that by keeping towards the setting sun, he could find his way himself. Hepburn and I were not in a condition to resist even an open attack, nor could we by any device escape from him. Our united strength was far inferior to his; and beside his gun, he was armed with two pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. In the afternoon, coming to a rock on which there was some *tripe de roche*, he halted, and said he would gather it whilst we went on, and that he would soon overtake us. Hepburn and I were now left together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, and he acquainted me with several material circumstances, which he had observed of Michel's behaviour, and which confirmed me in the opinion that there was no safety for us except in his death, and he offered to be the instrument of it. I determined, however, as I was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, to take the whole responsibility upon myself; and immediately upon Michel's coming up, I put an end to his life by shooting him through the head with a pistol. Had my own life alone been threatened, I would not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself as intrusted also with the protection of Hepburn's; a man, who, by his humane attentions and devotedness, had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own. Michel had gathered no *tripe de roche*,

and it was evident to us that he had halted for the purpose of putting his gun in order, with the intention of attacking us, perhaps while we were in the act of encamping.' pp. 455—458.

' It can scarcely admit of a doubt, that Michel had previously killed both Belanger and Perrault. Fort Enterprise now became a scene of aggravated wretchedness. Increasing weakness of body brought with it debility of mind and irritability of temper. Poor Hepburn was so surprised at this change in himself and his companions, that he exclaimed on one occasion, ' Dear me, if we are spared to return to England, I wonder if we shall recover our understandings.' It was not till the 7th of November, that relief came. Mr. Back, after sufferings which occasioned the death of one of his companions, had overtaken the Indians, and immediately despatched assistance to Fort Enterprise. A shout from three natives announced to the expiring inmates, the approach of their deliverers. On the 16th, they left the House, and on the 26th, reached, though with much difficulty, the tents of Akaitcho. The rest of their adventures occupy but a few pages. In December, they reached a settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company on Moose-deer Island, where they experienced the utmost hospitality from Messrs M'Vicar and M'Auley. On the 14th July, they arrived at York Factory.

' Thus terminated,' says Capt. Franklin, ' our long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water and by land, (including our navigation of the Polar Sea,) five thousand five hundred and fifty miles.'

The Appendix contains a considerable variety of valuable scientific matter, comprising ' Geognostical Observations' by Dr. Richardson; Remarks on the Aurora Borealis by Messrs. Hood and Franklin; and by Dr. R., Astronomical and Magnetic Tables; Zoology by Mr. Sabine; and Botanical Memoranda by Dr. Richardson.

The decorations are not altogether such as we could wish. Some of the plates are coloured aquatints of inferior merit; others are line engravings, feeble, scratchy, and deficient in effect and richness. The representations of subjects from natural history, are excellently executed by Curtis. The Maps are interesting documents, and well got up.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren*, with a brief View of the Progress of Architecture in England, from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I., to the End of the Seventeenth Century ; and an Appendix of authentic Documents. By James Elmes, M.R.I.A. Architect. 4to. pp. 715. Price 3l. 3s. London. 1823.

THE life of Sir Christopher Wren is a central point in the history of Architecture in England ; and the subject might be with propriety made the medium of information, embracing the rise, progress, and vicissitudes of the art, while it should include extensive and important illustrations of its principles and practice. The attractions of the subject led us to take up this massy quarto with somewhat eager expectations ; more especially when we learned from the first sentence of the preface, that the subject had occupied Mr. Elmes's attention during the space of nearly fourteen years. We cannot say that our anticipations have been altogether answered. In the collection of facts and documents, reasonable diligence appears to have been used ; and there is no room to complain of the manner in which they are brought forward, so far as fairness and distinctness are concerned ; but the book is deficient in scientific analysis, as well as in vigorous and discriminative criticism, nor are these indispensable adjuncts, when they do occur, precisely of that high quality which we naturally look for in such a work. We cannot think that the plan adopted by Mr. Elmes in the arrangement of these memoirs, is free from objection. The method of taking up a man's history at his birth, and carrying it straight forward through successive years until his death, is vastly convenient to the Writer, and may sufficiently answer the requirements of a reader, where the life has been undistinguished by any connexion with the progress of science, or has been directed towards the attainment of a single object. But where the pursuits of the individual have been various, and to a high degree difficult, important, and successful, such a mode is most bewildering. The attention is fixed, one moment, on a profound and interesting inquiry, and in the next, is called off to some remote and unconnected investigation : the chain of thought and recollection is thus continually broken, and the general effect of the perusal is neither pleasant nor definite. Most of the usual methods of encountering or evading this difficulty, are liable to inconveniences ; but, in the present instance, we should, for our own part, have preferred either textual references with a running accompaniment of notes, or the consignment of all collateral disquisitions to an Appendix. Instead of this, we have a teasing alternation of

meetings and conversations at the Royal Society, with the chronological details of Wren's architectural labours, occasionally relieved by the interlude of an official squabble. For the gratification and instruction of unprofessional amateurs, like ourselves, it would have been advisable that a decided lead should be given to Sir Christopher's career as an architect, that his peculiar excellencies and defects should be minutely analyzed and impartially canvassed, and that, if it had been possible to form an accurate classification of his works, their variations of principle and application should be determined and characterized. We do not mean to imply that nothing of this has been done in the work before us; but the plan does not appear to us either distinctly made out, or completely filled up. As we cannot, however, undertake the task of supplying what appears to us Mr. Elmes's deficiencies, we must content ourselves with giving a brief abstract of the contents of his quarto.

Inigo Jones was the first who successfully introduced the Roman style into the palaces and public buildings of England. He had visited Italy, and studied with kindred feeling and genius, the rich and scientific structures of Bramante, Palladio, and Scamozzi, as well as the magnificent remains of ancient Rome. It was, however, unfortunate, both for this great man and for his greater successor, that they imbibed the rudiments of their style from a deteriorated school of art. We are fully aware that the severe simplicity of Grecian taste was scarcely applicable to the circumstances of the Romans; and that for the gorgeous melodrama of the Papal ceremonial, a yet more splendid theatre, and a more ornamental style, were required. Still, there was decided error in the unnecessary departure from sanctioned *principle*. There was ample room for the extended application of the faultless elements of Helladic art; nor was there any pretext for the unmeaning confusion, and the infirm sacrifice of the whole to parts, which degrade the works of some of the ablest Italian architects. They violated the sanctity of Grecian style by licentious additions; they frittered their effects by rustics and channelings, and they seem to have been insensible to the beauty and majesty of expanded surface and unbroken perspective. It is impossible, then, not to indulge a wish that, instead of wandering amid these seductive examples of mistaken talent, Jones and Wren had visited the shores of Attica, and taken the lessons of their art from the unrivalled models of the Athenian citadel.

Christopher Wren was born on the 20th of October, 1632. His father was a respectable clergyman, afterwards dean of Windsor; and his uncle, Dr. Matthew Wren, was successively bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely. The latter identified

himself with many of the obnoxious measures of the high-church party, and was imprisoned, without trial, during nearly twenty years. At the treaty of Uxbridge, in 1644, he was included among those who were, by name, declared incapable of pardon. The father of Sir Christopher was a man of considerable attainments, and directed the early efforts of his son to scientific pursuits, the infirmity of his constitution making it advisable to conduct his education under the management of a domestic tutor, until, at a proper age, he was consigned to the severer regimen of the celebrated Busby, at Westminster school.

‘The genius, and taste for learning and the mathematics, of the youthful architect, began to develop themselves at a very early age, and his industry and perseverance in his studies, to produce the most promising results. In 1645, while only in his thirteenth year, he invented a new astronomical instrument, which he dedicated, in Latin of a superior style, to his father. He also produced in the same year an exercise in physics, and invented a pneumatic machine.’

In his fourteenth year, he left Westminster for Oxford, where he entered at Wadham College as gentleman-commoner. He took his bachelor's degree in his eighteenth year. In 1647, he took out a patent ‘for a diplographic instrument for writing ‘with two pens.’ Notwithstanding his youth, he was at this time the associate of men high in scientific repute; and when the Royal Society began its meetings, Wren appears to have been somewhat more than an *alumnus* of its first illustrious members. Dr. Wilkins introduced him as a ‘prodigy in ‘science’ to the Elector Palatine; and the celebrated Oughtrid characterised him as a youth *admirando prorsus ingenio*. ‘He is recorded as being the first inventor of the micographic art; ‘that of drawing enlarged views of subjects as they appear ‘through a microscope.’ The invention of the barometer, also, has been attributed to Wren. It is affirmed, that Oldenburg, the first secretary to the Royal Society, who was a Saxon by birth, clandestinely communicated to his scientific countrymen, the secrets of the learned body whose confidence he possessed. However this may have been, there can, we apprehend, be no reasonable doubt of the correctness of Derham, who assigns the barometer to Torricelli as its inventor in 1643; adding, that ‘the real use of it, and the discovery that it was ‘the gravitation of the atmosphere which kept up the quick-‘silver to such a height, which the learned abroad, particularly ‘Torricelli, had only before suspected, was first proved by ‘Boyle, at the suggestion of Wren.’ In 1653, Wren was elected fellow of All Souls' College, and in 1657, he was chosen Gresham Professor of Astronomy, an office then held in higher

estimation than at present. At the Restoration, Charles II., surrounded by hungry petitioners, and unable to satisfy them by a fair adjustment between their claims and their abilities, was sometimes under the necessity, where the man did not fit the office to which he was appointed, of so arranging the office as to make it suitable to the incumbent. Among other blunders which required rectifying in this way, was the appointment of Sir John Denham to the post of surveyor-general of his Majesty's works. Whatever might be the brilliancy of Sir John's poetical talents, his architectural skill seems to have been so questionable as to induce Charles to give him an assistant, happily for the interests of art and the credit of the nation, in the person of Sir Christopher Wren. In 1663, his powers were called into action by the necessity for continuing the repairs of the Cathedral of St. Paul, which had been commenced under the direction of Inigo Jones; and in the same year, he gave in the design of the first public building that he actually erected, the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. But it was the Fire of London, in 1666, that called the splendid talents of this great man into full exercise. That event, disastrous in its first effects, proved most beneficial in its remote consequences, and changed a metropolis, gloomy, unventilated, and built of the most combustible materials, into one of the healthiest capitals in Europe. It is, however, deeply to be regretted, that Wren's admirably conceived and adapted plan of re-construction was not resolutely followed up. A neat engraving of it is given in the present volume; and it is difficult to say whether it would have excelled in picturesque effect, general convenience, or architectural character, or whether it would not rather have been perfectly unrivalled in its exquisite combination of them all. One part of his plan, the observance of which was provided for by the Rebuilding Act, was the erection and preservation of a clear and wide public quay on the river side; and the encroachments which have been made on it are thus referred to by Mr. Elmes.

‘ This noble and beneficial design, which it was the intention of the legislature, on the recommendation and from the designs of Wren, to carry into effect, has been gradually rendered ineffectual, and is now nearly destroyed, by the cupidity of certain brewers, &c. whose very trades were prohibited by this proclamation to be carried on in this situation, but who have nearly built a series of wretched storehouses over this intended quay, and would have completely robbed the public of the little now left, but for the interference of a few public-spirited neighbours, who opposed an intended bill for stopping them all up by repealing the act of 22 Charles II. cap. 2. These gentlemen have stayed the pestilence; but it is hoped that on the proposed rebuilding of London bridge they will renew their efforts, and effect the completion not only of a grand public quay from London bridge to the

Temple, as granted to the citizens by Charles, but also as far as Westminster, and on both sides of the Thames, by inclosing from the mud nearly to low water-mark, which is public property. The majestic Thames would then be rescued from its present inferiority to even the humbler Liffey, which the public-spirited citizens of Dublin have decorated with noble quays on either side, in lieu of its former muddy banks.'

In 1669, the death of Sir John Denham, made way for Wren's advance to the office of surveyor-general. The Royal Exchange, of which he was rather the 'tasteful restorer' than the 'original designer,' was opened in the same year. The new campanile which has been recently erected over the portico, provokes from Mr. E. the following fair criticism.

'Whether the new tower be in better taste than the old one, is not the question; but it (the latter) was more accordant with the rest of the building, and marked the taste of the age. Mr. Smith was, I think, wrong in seeking criticism by his new design, which becomes the ancient building, as the fur cap of a lancer would a venerable bishop, and alters the whole character of the building. Mr. Cockerell, jun. might, with as much propriety, have designed a new ball and cross to St. Paul's cathedral, in his judicious restoration last year.'

The stupendous Doric column near London bridge was first used as an observatory, but it

'was abandoned on account of its vibrations being too great for the nicety required. This occasioned a report that it was unsafe; but its scientific construction may bid defiance to the attacks of all but earthquakes, for centuries to come.'

The church and spire of St. Mary-le-Bow, commenced in 1671, are usually reckoned, at least the latter, among the master-pieces of Sir Christopher Wren. A minute description of its parts occurs in this volume, which, with the elevation and section, given in outline, fully explains the skilful construction of the edifice, but does not quite so satisfactorily vindicate the epithet 'beautiful.' Though it is eminently so in parts, yet, to our view, there is, in the whole, an effect of incongruity. The tower and the spire do not seem made to accompany each other; nor can we relish the strange compound which the latter presents, of obelisks, flying buttresses, scroll pyramids, vases, balustrades, and Corinthian temples. In October 1672, the first stone was laid of that exquisite structure, St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The objections made to it by Mr. Elmes, amount to little more than that it is not perfect. His general criticism, however, allowing for a few affected phrases, is excellent.

‘ The beauty of the interior of this church arises from its lightness and elegance. On entering from the street, by about a dozen or more of steps, through a vestibule of dubious obscurity, on opening the handsome folding wainscot doors, a halo of dazzling light flashes at once upon the eye; and a lovely band of Corinthian columns, of beauteous proportions, appear in magic mazes before you. The expansive cupola and supporting arches, expand their airy shapes like gossamer, and the sweetly proportioned embellished architrave-cornice, of original lightness and application, completes the charm. On a second look, the columns slide into complete order, like a band of young and elegant dancers, at the close of a quadrille. Then the pedestals, concealed by the elaborate pewings, which are sculptured into the form of a solid stylobate, opening up the nave, under the cupola, to the great recess which contains the altar, and West’s fine historical picture of the stoning of St. Stephen, lift up the entire column to the level of the eye: their brown and brawny solids supporting the delicate white forms of the entire order. The composition of the order, the arrangement of the parts, the effect of the whole, exhibit the originality of Wren’s mind in a captivating point of view; and its excellencies, like Aaron’s rod, swallow up the trivial faults of the detail. He who doubts the excellencies of Wren, as an architect of the first order, should deeply study this jewel of the art.’

St. Paul’s now excited the attention of the King and of the nation. Sir Christopher Wren, after receiving, in 1672, the honour of knighthood, was called on to design an edifice entirely new, the old idea of reparation having been quite abandoned. The first model, which is said to have been the favourite plan of the Architect, was the same which is now exhibited, in a neglected state, in one of the apartments of the Cathedral. Its rejection is ascribed to its bold innovations on the received arrangement of metropolitan churches, in their adaptation to public worship. It departed from the usual distribution of naves and aisles, and substituted a series of minor cupolas surrounding the central dome. The Duke of York, anticipating the introduction of the Popish ceremonial, insisted upon an adherence to the old plan, and on the construction of side oratories. Sir Christopher pleaded for his cherished model, even with tears, but he was obliged to give way. We cannot say that we regret the change; for, though we quite agree with Mr. Elmes in his eulogy of the various, beautiful, and picturesque combinations of the model, yet, we prefer the fine and ever varying perspective of the actual structure, built in imitation of St. Peter’s, but with an originality that made it his own. If such imitation be destructive of the claims of genius, who shall escape excepting Homer and Shakspeare? The strongest and clearest intellects must, in a measure, pur-

sue the path traced by their predecessors; as the Greeks, in their principles of Architecture, followed the Egyptians, and the Romans, the Greeks.

‘ It was thus that Michael Angelo honestly imitated the Pantheon of Agrippa, in his tremendous cupola of the Vatican: and it is thus that our neglected countryman, Wren, rivalled and surpassed, in purity of taste and scientific construction, the basilica of St. Peter at Rome.’

His second design having been approved, and licence being given to make such variations as should not interfere with the general plan, the building went forward with spirit. The first labour was the removal of the standing walls of great height and thickness; but the main obstacle was presented by the ruins of the old tower, nearly two hundred feet high. The judicious use of eighteen pounds of gunpowder, lifted a weight of more than three thousand tons, and saved the work of a thousand labourers. The fall of so great a weight from a height of two hundred feet, gave such a concussion to the ground, that the inhabitants round about took it for the shock of an earthquake.’

The second experiment was made in Sir Christopher’s unavoidable absence; and from some negligence in closing the mine, a fragment of stone was projected to such a distance as to enter a room where some females were sitting. This accident put a stop to the use of gunpowder. The Architect’s next expedient was the battering-ram. Thirty men plied an enormous beam shod with iron, during a whole day, apparently in vain; and with the usual propensity of such folk, began to prognosticate the failure of the machine. On the second day, however, the wall began to yield, and, after a few hours’ exertion, gave way. During the earlier proceedings in the construction of the edifice,

‘ when Sir Christopher was arranging and setting out the dimensions of the great cupola, an incident occurred which some superstitious observers regarded as a lucky omen. The architect had ordered a workman to bring him a flat stone to use as a station; which, when brought, was found to be the fragment of a tomb-stone, containing the only remaining word of an inscription in capital letters, “ RESURGAM.” This has been asserted, (but I do not remember the authority) to have been the origin of the emblem—a phoenix on its fiery nest—sculptured by Cibber, over the south portico, and inscribed with the same word; but the rising again of the new city and cathedral from the conflagration, were quite sufficient hints for the artist.’

In 1683, Sir Christopher completed St. James’s church, one of the most perfect of his designs, whether it be con-

'sidered for its commodiousness, beauty, or ingenuity in construction.' The roof, of which a clear description, aided by an outline plate, is given, 'is the most novel, scientific, and satisfactory as to the results, of any roof in existence.' In 'simplicity, strength, and beauty,' it 'is a perfect study of construction and architectural economy.' The following note occurs in reference to the 'beautiful spire of St. Dunstan's in the East,' styled by Mr. Elmes, 'the noblest monument of geometrical and constructive skill in existence, and unequalled also for lightness and elegance.'

'An anonymous friend sent me, during the progress of this work, the following anecdote; but, as he communicated no authority, I have placed it as an entertaining note, rather than as a portion of the text. The first part is evidently incorrect, and it is hardly possible that such a mathematician as Wren would have attempted what he doubted. On the contrary, when he was informed that a hurricane, which occurred in the night, had damaged all the steeples in London, he replied, with the rapidity of thought, 'Not St. Dunstan's, I am sure.' The anecdote is as follows. When Sir Christopher Wren made the first attempt of building a steeple upon quadrangular columns in this country (St. Dunstan's in the East), he was convinced of the truth of his architectural principle; but as he had never before acted upon it, and as a failure would have been fatal to his reputation, and awful in its consequences to the neighbourhood of the edifice, he naturally felt intense anxiety, when the superstructure was completed, in the removal of the supporters. The surrounding people shared largely in the solicitude. Sir Christopher himself went to London bridge, and watched the proceedings through a lens. The ascent of a rocket proclaimed the stability of the steeple; and Sir Christopher himself afterwards would smile, that he ever could, even for a moment, have doubted the truth of his mathematics.'

Queen Anne continued Wren, then in the sixty-ninth year of his age, in all his employments; and he persevered with unabated energy of mind in urging forward the building of Greenwich and Chelsea hospitals, as well as the completion of the cathedral. In 1705, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for erecting fifty new parish churches in London and Westminster, and he delivered an excellent report on the general subject to one of his coadjutors. The accession of George I., however, was unfavourable to the prospects of this great Architect: in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he was superseded in his office of surveyor-general, by the contemptible Benson, whose ignorance prevented him from long retaining the appointment. Even in his great work at St. Paul's, Wren was now annoyed by petty cabals and teasing interferences. When pestered to crown the upper cornice with a balustrade, he sarcastically replied, that '*ladies think nothing*

'well without an edging.' He seems, happily, not to have suffered these vexations to prey on his mind. He lived until the 25th of February, 1723, on which day, taking his usual after-dinner nap,

'the servant who constantly attended him, thinking he slept longer than usual, went into his apartment, and found him dead in his chair.'

Sir Christopher Wren was twice married, but the dates are uncertain. Mr. Elmes fixes the first marriage early in 1674; and the second could not have taken place at a much greater interval than that of two years. In 1681, he was chosen President of the Royal Society; and in 1685, he was returned to parliament as member for Plympton.

Of the school formed towards the close of this great man's life, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Gibbs, were the greatest ornaments. As Mr. Elmes seems to have discriminated their respective abilities with much skill, we shall insert the leading features of his estimate. The first, he styles

'a bold and erratic genius, picturesque and poetical in his imagination, but neither learned nor refined in his art. He rather resembled the painter-architects of Henry the VIIIth's time, than a follower of Palladio, Jones, and Wren.'

'Gibbs, the best successor of Wren, aspires, in his St. Martin's in the Fields, to the title of an architect; but his blunderings at the Ratcliffe Library, Oxford, take away from him all character for science; and his New Church in the Strand does not say much for the purity of his taste.'

Of Nicholas Hawksmoor we are informed, that

'this highly original architect was born in 1666, the year of the great fire of London; and was placed in his seventeenth year, as a domestic clerk, or pupil, with Wren. His genius is unquestionable, but his taste not of the most refined order; nearer approaching the bold flights of Vanbrugh, than the chastened correctness of his master. His knowledge of every science connected with his art is allowed, and his character has been spoken of from authority, with commendation. He was deputy surveyor, under Wren, at the building of Chelsea College; clerk of the works at Greenwich Hospital; in which offices he remained during the reigns of William, Anne, and George I.....He was appointed superintending surveyor to all the new churches, and of Westminster Abbey, after the death of Sir Christopher; and designed many that were erected in pursuance of the statute of Queen Anne, for building fifty new churches. Among others, besides the church above-mentioned (St. Mary Woolnoth), are Christ-church Spitalfields, St. George Middlesex, St. Anne Limehouse, and St. George Bloomsbury, which has been condemned by hasty critics, from not falling within their narrow rules of art. This church is a bold, original, and striking composition, built

in a masterly and scientific manner, and designed in a masculine style. The interior is commodious, appropriate, and picturesque; worthy of its author, his master, and his school. The portico is remarkably handsome, and the tower is placed in a judicious and proper situation. The steeple is novel, ingenious, and picturesque.'

Hawksmoor assisted Vanbrugh in the erection of Blenheim and Castle Howard, and died in 1736.

The decorations of this volume are not quite so numerous or so ornamental as we could have wished. There are no finished views of any of Wren's works, nor are any diagrams given in illustration of the structure of St. Paul's as it now stands. A plan and section, at least, should have been inserted. The portrait of Sir Christopher, from Kneller, is well executed, but a little deficient in depth and richness. An Appendix of important papers closes the volume.

Art. V. Details of the Arrest, Imprisonment, and Liberation of an Englishman, by the Bourbon Government of France. 8vo. pp. 148. Price 4s. London. 1823.

THE case of Mr. Bowring, of which the details are here given to the public in an authentic form, has been so generally made known by means of the daily press, that it cannot be necessary for us to state it to any of our readers. The grounds on which was rested the decision of our Government not to interfere, were, that nothing had been done in Mr. Bowring's case, according to the opinion of the most eminent French lawyers, which was not warranted *by the laws of France*; and that whatever remedy a French subject might have, if proceeded against unjustly on such charge or suspicion, was equally open to him. The opinion of one of the counsel was given in these words :

' Upon the first question, the Counsel perceives nothing in the papers submitted to him, which indicates any irregularity in the arrest of Mr. Bowring. The Counsel has not at present to examine if our criminal laws would not admit of great melioration. He has not to explain himself as a writer on public law, but as an Advocate. In his private opinion, he thinks that the liberty of individuals in France requires other securities than those which exist; but having to pronounce upon what is, and not upon what ought to be, he declares that nothing has been done to Mr. Bowring, but what might have been done to a Frenchman under similar circumstances. Doubtless, it is cruel to deprive a person of his liberty for suspicions which in the end prove unfounded: it is a rigour which I do not approve in

abstracto. But, in the existing state of legislation, nothing is more frequent than arrests of this kind.'

It is probable, that the discussion to which this atrocious arrest has given rise, the indignation it has excited on both sides of the water, and the contemptible light in which it has placed the French Government, will answer all the purpose which might have been served by a direct remonstrance from our Ambassador. We shall not, therefore, discuss the policy of abstaining, in this particular instance, from diplomatic interference. But it seems to us that the principle on which that policy rests its justification, is an unsound one. It is quite clear, that a foreigner is, equally with a native, bound to obey the laws of the country in which he sojourns. If a Frenchman residing in England, be found guilty of one of the very many crimes which our penal laws have made capital, he must suffer the penalty; even though, in his own country, the same crime would subject him to a minor punishment. The only condition on which a foreigner of any nation can be allowed to remain in a country, must be, that of observing its laws, or abiding the consequences of breaking them. Had Mr. Bowring been convicted of breaking any of the French laws, we do not see that our Government could have interfered on his behalf with any propriety, unless it had been to solicit the clemency of the Crown towards an English subject; an application which only very extraordinary circumstances would justify. But it does not appear that Mr. Bowring was guilty of violating any statute of either the civil or the criminal code of France, or that his conduct rendered him obnoxious to any law whatsoever, except what are indefinitely termed by M. Batonnier Billecocq, *les lois de police et de sûreté*; that is, the *secret by-laws of the French police*. Now, to fall under the operation of these unknown and arbitrary laws, it is only requisite that the individual should become an object of suspicion to the Police; and he is liable, therefore, to be deprived of his liberty, without having knowingly given any occasion of offence.

The right which an arbitrary Government has to deal thus arbitrarily with its own subjects, must not be disputed: at least, no other nation has any right in such a case to interfere. Whether it be to incarcerate the suspected person in a Bastile, to torture him in the secret chambers of a Holy Office, to apply the Turkish bowstring, or, according to the politer custom of Japan, to send the gentleman a court order to rip himself up with his own sword,—the right to proceed in either way towards its own happy and devoted subjects, must be held

perfectly legitimate. In all such cases, no *irregularity* is committed; all takes place according to the laws, and nothing is more frequent than occurrences of this kind. Now the simple question is, whether such wholesome *local* laws as authorize these proceedings in the countries alluded to, may or may not be applied to Englishmen without justifying any diplomatic interference on the part of our Government. The degree of atrocity makes no difference in the principle. Does the protection of his own Government cease, or does it not, when an Englishman sets his foot on a foreign territory, where the Government maintains an amicable relation with our own? Let us suppose a case; that some cousin of Mr. Planta's, or of Mr. Secretary Canning's, had become, under the old legitimate reign of Ferdinand and the Inquisition, obnoxious to the Holy Office, at a time when we had a minister residing at Madrid; or, in the days of Louis XV. and the Bastile, had become an object of jealousy to the prime minister or the prime mistress in that country; would it have been thought a sufficient reason for passing over such an outrage on a British subject, that nothing was done to him, but what might have been done to a Spaniard or a Frenchman, that it was warranted by the local laws, that nothing was more frequent than such arrests, and that whatever remedy a native subject might have, was equally open to the foreigner? If this be Mr. Canning's principle, it is fit that the country should understand it. We judge that his conduct in such a case would have been different.

But here is the true difficulty—our *Alien Bill*, which creates in this country precisely the same kind of arbitrary power, though the nation and the laws would not tolerate a similar exercise of it, as that against which, awkwardly enough, our Ambassador would have had to protest.

“ ‘That Bill,’ says Mr. Bowring, ‘that inhospitable and un-English Bill, was constantly quoted against me in the progress of the proceedings. When I complained of their illegality and violence, I was constantly asked, “What protection from *your* laws has a foreigner in *England*?” Could I do aught but hang down my head in silence? It was the second time that *this* Bill had been used to justify acts of oppression and outrage committed on my person. It was employed against me in 1820, in Spain, when I was detained by the arbitrary mandate of a petty magistrate, who, however, afterwards apologised for *his* mistake. The Alien Bill,—which has scarcely ever been employed at all to banish those against whom it was directed,—has been a constant weapon to be used against Englishmen by other Governments. Our own countrymen are its victims. We have forged arms, useless for our own defence, but terrible when employed against us. Few individuals have had more extensive opportunities than myself for ascertaining the general estimation of the English character through the

different countries of Europe ; and I may truly assert, that no one circumstance ever tended so much to diminish our national reputation, as the existence of the Alien Bill. To England—amidst the vicissitudes and calamities of political events—men were accustomed to look as to a haven, where the distant storm might be heard, but dared not reach. I know the terrors of the Alien Bill have been exaggerated ; but such terrors exist ; and whether they have misrepresented, or not, the temper of the British Government, certain it is, that the charm of perfect confidence is broken ;—this asylum, which was formerly sacred, *may* now be violated. Who shall guaranty to the fugitive stranger that it *will* not be violated ? To be instrumental in removing this foul stigma on the character of my country, I would cheerfully pass over again the days of my imprisonment, even though they had been tenfold ; and should that imprisonment lead to a repeal of this most obnoxious statute, it would be to me a proud privilege so to have suffered.' pp. x—xii.

Bad, however, as the Alien Bill is in its principle, the right of dismissing a foreigner from the soil, even though it may involve his ruin,—inequitable, arbitrary, disgraceful as such a proceeding may be, would not afford the same ground for diplomatic interference as the detention and imprisonment of an innocent individual. The safety of the State may be made a plea for the former : it is an insufficient pretext for the latter. The one is obviously the exercise of a discretionary power vested in the Executive : the other is a judicial act, a sentence implying alleged guilt, and, in the absence of real criminality, however legal, is an outrage both upon the individual and upon his nation. If diplomatic interference can neither prevent such wrong, nor remedy such wrong, nor obtain reparation for such wrong, then, indeed, as Mr. Bowring observes, it is perfectly chimerical. 'A man may be impaled in Turkey, knouted to death in Russia, or hanged in Austrian Italy, *and all according to the laws*, and yet be innocent, since the laws give arbitrary power to the judges.' We cannot agree with Mr. Canning.

Art. VI. *Sermons on Infidelity*. By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, A.M. Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh. 18mo. pp. 442. Price 5s. Edinburgh. 1821.

WE apprehend that sermons on Infidelity, however excellent, are not likely to obtain the attention of a very numerous class of readers. They who are already infidels, will have little disposition to read sermons of any kind, and still less, to read those the professed object of which is, to cure them of their infidelity ; and with regard to serious Christians, among whom

the great body of sermon readers is to be found, as they entertain no doubts on this subject, they will rather be disposed to turn their attention to such books as have a more immediate tendency to promote their religious improvement. The general feeling with regard to this work, from a mere inspection of the title, is likely, therefore, to be rather unfavourable. But those who look into the book itself, will not long retain this impression: they will find, not only that the general argument with regard to Infidelity is handled in a most masterly way, but that a large proportion of the work is of extensive practical utility, and tends directly to the instruction and edification of Christians.

The Author has not undertaken any illustration of the evidences of Christianity; nor is it any part of his object, to answer the objections which have been brought against it. This has been ably and amply done by former writers. The ground which he has taken up, is simply, to point out the bad effects of infidelity. It is very true, that no man who disbelieves Revelation, will be brought to believe it, merely because the rejection of it is attended with bad consequences to mankind. The belief of any proposition depends on the evidence we have of its truth, and not on a view of consequences of one kind or another attending such belief. Yet, admitting this, there is ample room for taking a view of consequences, without finally resting the weight of the argument upon them. In as far as concerns those who are already infidels, a view of the unhappy effects of infidelity on the morals, the peace, and the happiness of society, might perhaps induce them to review the subject with more attention, and perhaps with more candour and seriousness than they have ever done; and at all events, it would cause them to pause in the work of proselytism, and to desist from any active endeavours to propagate a creed which they see to be so injurious to the welfare of their species. There is also a very numerous class, including a great number of thoughtless young men, and many men who are not very young, but who on these subjects are very thoughtless, and who being much immersed in the business or pleasures of life, feel great indifference with regard to the whole affair, and, if they do nothing against Christianity, do as little for it. There are also many who are possessed of much influence, as parents, rulers, and magistrates, and the higher classes of society, many of whom may by no means be fully aware of the unhappy tendency of infidelity. A demonstration of the injurious effects of infidelity on the good order, morals, and happiness of society, may have the best effect on these persons, and engage them to more active exertions in behalf of revealed

religion, than they have ever been accustomed to make. Those persons also, who are in a wavering state of mind between Christianity and infidelity, may, under the impression of this view, be led to consider the subject without levity, and to give the argument for the truth of Christianity a full and candid consideration. This is all that the advocates for revealed religion desire; and they persuade themselves, that wherever these arguments receive an unbiassed consideration, they will produce conviction. Nor will true Christians feel uninterested in the general argument; for surely they cannot be indifferent to any thing which tends to recommend their religion to mankind, to check its opposers, and to render the zeal of its friends more ardent and active.

The text on which all the discourses in this volume are founded, is Heb. iii. 22. "Take heed, brethren, lest there be " in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from " the living God." The object of the Preacher is distinctly stated in the following words:

" There is a natural connexion between the disbelief of Christianity in particular, and the disbelief of religion in general. The one leads directly to the other. And, therefore, to every one who may feel himself tempted to abandon the Gospel as a cunningly devised fable, or to regard it as unworthy of any great sacrifice, or of any strong attachment, I would with all earnestness address the admonition of the text, and enforce it by the consideration, that your unbelief as to the doctrine of Christ, will be followed by your departure " from the living God."

In proof that the rejection of revealed religion leads to the abandonment of all religion, the Author appeals, 1. to the history of Deism, as it is to be found in the writings of those who have embraced and supported that system; 2. to the character of the prevailing infidelity of the day; 3. to the objections which have been urged against Christianity, and upon which Deists have mainly rested their rejection of it; and 4. to the nature of those causes of infidelity, which are not connected with reasoning. In appealing to the history of Deism, he remarks, that those who have held the most conspicuous place in the ranks of infidelity, are found,

" not only, amid their occasional professions of respect for Christianity, throwing out against it the language of ridicule and condemnation, but even in their avowed attempts to build up a theory of pure Deism, intentionally leaving out, or speaking lightly and contemptuously of some of the most essential principles of all religion. Whether they were allowed to fall into these aberrations by the inherent inconsistency of their system, or whether they were forced into them by the natural course and current of their argument, it is of no consequence

to ascertain. The fact, with which alone we have to do at present, is sufficiently certain, that they have not scrupled to cast away as neither useful nor true, the doctrines of God's holiness and justice, of a superintending providence, and of a future retribution. Nay, it is to be particularly noticed, that those individuals among them who have brought most intellect into the controversy, who seemed to possess the finest talents for asserting the sufficiency and proving the tenets of natural religion, and whose opinions have been most frequently and submissively appealed to by the enemies of Christianity, are the very men by whom Christianity and natural religion have been treated with an almost equal degree of indifference or dislike. If natural religion has appeared to be the object of their respect, and has experienced their support, it was only that, by alleging its sufficiency, they might give the deadlier blow to the faith of Jesus. But there is not a truth in the one or in the other, which they have not exposed to ridicule by their profane wit, or brought into question by their ingenious speculations. And though they have not had the hardihood to avow themselves the supporters of Atheism, yet it is impossible to peruse what they have published, without perceiving, that to Atheism we must come at last, if we acquiesce in their positions, and follow out the course which they have pursued.'

The Author adverts to the case of Lord Herbert, as a seeming exception to this statement. But he remarks, that his Lordship's scheme of natural religion was chiefly drawn from the Bible; that, after all, it is extremely imperfect; and, what especially deserves notice, that he has scarcely had a follower in his more serious views, among the multitude of infidels who have succeeded him.

Mr. T. then appeals to the prevailing infidelity of the day, as a proof that the rejection of revealed religion leads to the rejection of all religion.

' We have heard, indeed,' he remarks, ' of men who affected to hold fast by the tenets of natural religion, while they repudiated those of Divine revelation; but we have never been so fortunate as to see and converse with one of them, whose creed, select, and circumscribed, and palatable as he had made it, seemed to have any serious footing in his mind, or any practical influence on his life: who could restrain his sneer at piety the most untinctured with enthusiasm; or who could check his speculations, however hostile to the system he had affected to embrace; or who worshipped the God in whose existence and attributes he acknowledged his belief; or who acted with a view to that immortality for which he allowed that the soul of man is destined.'

' It is true,' he adds, ' that the votaries of infidelity are often placed in circumstances which constrain them to hold such language, and maintain such a deportment as by itself might indicate the presence of Christian principle.' But we

must look at them when under no restraint, and then see what proofs they give of retaining any sense of religion.

‘ Say if, instead of affording you positive proofs of such remanent and distinctive piety, they are not displaying daily and inveterate symptoms that God, and Providence, and immortality, are not in all their thoughts. Say, if you have not seen many a melancholy demonstration of that general irreligion which we have ascribed to them as the consequence of their throwing off the dominion of the Gospel. And say, if you have not been able to trace this down through all the gradations of Infidelity, from the speculative philosopher, who has decided that there is no Saviour, till you come to the fool, who says, in the weakness and the wickedness of his heart, that there is no God.’

The Author remarks, in the third place, that the objections which have been urged against Christianity, shew, that they who are hostile to Revelation, are also hostile to all religion; since the same objections bear as strongly against natural religion. After briefly disposing of the superficial objection founded on the mysterious nature of its doctrines, he proceeds to notice that which is drawn from the want of universality in Christianity; in reply to which he makes the following striking remarks.

‘ If this objection have any force at all, it must go much further than Revelation. It may bring suspicion upon Christianity, but it must wholly overturn and annihilate the pretensions of the religion of nature. For Christianity has evidently a footing in the world—it has made a certain progress—and it is daily advancing towards universality. But where is the religion of nature to be found, except in the alleged capacity of man to discover it, or in the mouths or writings of those who borrow its doctrines from holy writ? Thousands of years have passed away, and still there is not a tribe upon the face of the earth where it can be said to prevail in its genuine form. Nay, among the heathen, instead of there being any approach to it, there seems to be a gradual departure from every thing that is pure and rational in its theory. And had it not been for the doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth, there is every reason to believe, that the religion of nature would have been supplanted and superseded by the grossest and most unlimited paganism.’

But the great objection on which unbelievers chiefly found their opposition to Christianity, is, that it implies what is miraculous. So much has been said and written on the subject of Miracles, that there is no room for novelty. Mr. Thomson justly remarks, that ‘ a miracle in itself is nothing but a fact.’

‘ It is one of the operations of Providence. It holds its place among the various and multiplied events which present themselves to the attention of mankind. And, in this point of view, it is just as

capable of proof as any other fact, operation, or event, which happens in the world. It comes under the cognizance of those very senses which witness the existence and the movements of all the different objects in creation; and any one who is competent to convey to us his impression of the one, must be equally competent to convey to us his impression of the other. He simply tells what he saw and heard in both cases. For example, he saw a man die, and he saw the same man rise from the dead. Between these two things, so far as a mere physical fact is concerned, there is not the shadow of difference. And there can be no difference in the possibility of the witness testifying what he observed in the latter instance, as well as what he observed in the former. But, on this principle, revealed religion and natural religion are on precisely the same footing. Those who saw the miracles of Christ, inferred from these the truth of his mission and of his doctrine. And upon what other or more favourable ground do they stand, who see the ordinary phenomena of nature, and the ordinary course of providence, and from these infer the tenets of Theism? Each of them embraces an inductive argument. Certain ascertained facts are combined with certain acknowledged first principles, and these conduct the understanding to certain conclusions, in which it rests as sound and irresistible.'

But, though it is true, that Christianity and natural religion alike rest upon facts, the infidel objects, that the way in which we arrive at the knowledge of the facts by which they are respectively attested, is dissimilar. He will perhaps admit that those miraculous facts would furnish sufficient evidence of the truth of Christianity, but he denies the validity of the testimony respecting them. Mr. Thomson shews, that, on the one hand, 'natural religion must be proved in a great measure by facts which we receive upon the evidence of testimony'; and, on the other, that *all* the miraculous facts which establish the truth of Christianity, do not rest upon testimony, but appeal, in some cases, to our observation. 'The internal evidence of the Gospel is miraculous.' And besides this, the fulfilment of the Scripture predictions, is an existing fact, 'actually presenting to our view a miraculous interposition of the power and agency of God.'

Mr. T. now proceeds, in the fourth place, to consider some of the causes of infidelity 'which are not connected with any reasoning on the evidences of Christianity, or on the soundness of the objections brought against it.' He justly remarks, that,

'when the question ceases to respect the real truth or falsehood of the system under consideration, and to hinge entirely on feelings, and views, and circumstances that are independent of its external evidence or its essential merits, there can be no security for its being

embraced under any modification whatever. If a man rejects the Gospel from any thing but a belief produced by reasoning of some kind or another, you have no hold at all on his attachment to religion. It becomes the mere sport of his likings and his dislikings, of his humours and caprices, of his tumultuary passions and his varying interests. In obedience to these, he has thrown away the religion of Christ; and in obedience to these, he may also throw away the religion of nature, even though its truth were capable of mathematical demonstration.'

The most prevalent causes of infidelity are, Mr. T. remarks, inconsiderateness, pride of understanding, and moral depravity. Now, if inconsiderateness lead any to neglect the Gospel of Christ, it will lead them equally to neglect natural religion. If intellectual pride lead any to reject Christianity, the same cause will operate against their acquiescing in natural religion. And moral depravity will assuredly cause a disregard of all the feeble barriers which reason can oppose, after a man has thrown off Christianity. Much clear and forcible reasoning occurs under this head. With the greater part of mankind indeed, the position would require no proof, that he who rejects revealed religion, will have no religion at all. The individual may possibly be just, and honourable, and even benevolent; but, as to religion, who expects to find any traces of it in a Deist? Who expects to hear of such a man worshipping God regularly, either in public or in private, loving him, trusting in him, being resigned to his disposals, feeling habitual gratitude to him, and holding himself ready to conduct himself in all things according to the will of the Deity in as far as he can discover it? And yet, all these are duties as imperatively called for by natural, as by revealed religion.

The infidel, however, will probably care very little about the matter, though it be proved that he has no religion whatever. He will still lay claim to honour, and integrity, and generosity, and truth, and think well of himself as possessed of these qualities, though destitute of religion. Mr. Thomson therefore goes a step further, and undertakes to shew, that 'infidelity is 'in every respect hostile to the interests of morality.' The following paragraph deserves the attentive consideration of the admirers of Mr. Hume.

' He who in point of talent and personal amiableness may be considered as standing at their head, and of whom another said, that he came as near as possible to the idea of "a perfectly wise and virtuous man," thus expressed himself, in speaking of its being unphilosophical to suppose that the Deity will inflict punishments on vice, and bestow rewards on virtue, beyond what appears in the ordinary course of nature. " Whether this reasoning of theirs be just or not, is no

matter; its influence on their life and conduct must still be the same; and those who attempt to disabuse them of such prejudices, may, for ought I know, be good reasoners, but I cannot allow them to be good citizens and politicians, since they free men from one restraint upon their passions, and make the infringement of the laws of equity and society in one respect more easy and secure." Such was his recorded language; and what was his conduct? Why, to publish the very thing whose tendency he allowed to be unfriendly to the interests of morality, and to labour with all his genius, and eloquence, and might, to undermine every religious principle that goes to restrain the violence of the wicked and encourage the virtues of the good. Could there be any love here to good morals?—any virtue in the heart?—any thing but indifference or aversion to its prevalence in the world? No, my friends; we may as well say that the man is not guilty of murder, who has a fatal poison in his possession, but who, instead of taking it himself, circulates it through every corner of the land, while he knows, and believes, and confesses, that it is to slay its thousands and its tens of thousands of unsuspecting mortals. So much for the morality of infidel philosophers, and so much for the wisdom and the virtue of their "perfectly wise and virtuous men!"'

In the fourth discourse, the Author advances a step further still. He undertakes to shew, that infidelity is destructive of the comfort and the happiness of those who embrace it. As leading to immorality, he justly argues that this must in general be the case, although there may be particular exceptions. But he argues, that it has a direct influence in destroying human comfort and happiness, as 'it implies the negation of all 'those truths which tend most effectually to cheer and support us under the calamities of our lot.' Here he enters, with much pathos, and in a strain of natural eloquence manifestly proceeding from a mind deeply impressed with the subject, into a description of the happiness which Christians derive from their faith in every situation of life, particularly under its afflictions, and compares this with the miserable comfort held out by infidelity.

However numerous unbelievers may be, it is seldom that any professed infidels find their way into a Christian congregation; thus far, therefore, these sermons, when originally preached, might fail of reaching those to whom they might have been most useful. But in the fifth and sixth sermons, the Author has taken up rather a new ground of discussion, and has brought forward such views as would come much closer home to the consciences of many among the ordinary hearers of the gospel. There are great numbers who are always well pleased to hear those faults exposed and condemned, in which they feel or fancy that they are not implicated; and there is little doubt that many individuals in Mr. Thomson's audience, when he de-

livered these powerful sermons on the demoralizing and unhappy effects of infidelity, were ready to congratulate themselves that they had no part in this evil. With a view to the benefit of such hearers, the Author commences a scrutiny into the more secret and less suspected symptoms of infidelity, which will be found to include many who think themselves good Christians. In this investigation, he shews his intimate knowledge of the human heart, and his sound views of what is required of a man to constitute him a truly religious character; and we have no doubt that the great majority of those who read for personal benefit, will find these the most useful sermons in the volume. After remarking that the charge of infidelity ought not to be restricted to those who reject *Revelation in toto*, but that, in strict propriety, it applies to many others; he shews this to be the case, in the first place, with those who acknowledge *Revelation in general*, but reject or object to some particular part of the *Scriptures*; he shews that they have entered on the path of infidelity, and that there is nothing to prevent their going on till they reject the whole. The next class whom he charges with the essence of infidelity, though they may not avow the principle, consists of those whose lives are characterised by impiety and immorality. He then brings forward 'the case of those who exhibit in their 'practice, the decencies, and honesties, and charities of a 'good life, but do so without any regard to the principles of 'godliness, or the authority of the gospel.' This is a point on which Dr. Chalmers has dilated with his characteristic eloquence, and it is pleasing to observe the complete agreement in the views of these distinguished preachers. We shall only say here, that Mr. Thomson does not suffer by the comparison.

In the fifth sermon, the Author proceeds to charge with practical and constructive infidelity, those who are characterised by worldly mindedness; next, those who neglect religious ordinances; and finally, 'those whose conduct manifests in difference to the preservation and success of Christianity in the world.' Under the last head, we were much pleased to meet with the following striking appeal.

'Now let me ask you what greater credit is due to those who profess to believe in Christianity, and in the face of this profession, do nothing for the cause of Christianity? If they truly believe in Christianity, they must believe it to be of divine origin—they must believe it to be full of interest and importance to every human being—they must believe it to be intended by its great author to be of universal benefit—they must believe it to be the cause of God, and of truth, and of mankind—they must believe it to be a system of compassion, a system

which shews compassion to *them*, which requires them to have compassion on others, and which holds it out as the highest style of compassion, that they vindicate its honour, and spread its influence—and they must believe that for the manner in which they treat it, both as it respects themselves and their fellow-men, they must render a strict account to him who is to “judge the quick and the dead.” Their faith, if they have faith, must include all this; but what if, professing to have such faith, that system on which it is avowedly fixed, secures from them no active interference in its behalf? What if they sit and hear unmoved, the blasphemy and derision with which its adversaries assail it in their presence? What if they put forth no energy in order to stem the torrent of infidelity which may be threatening to overwhelm it? What if they turn a deaf ear to those ignorant and helpless sinners that are beseeching them to impart it for their instruction and their salvation? What if they withhold their countenance and aid from those institutions which have it for their object to circulate the knowledge and increase the influence of Christianity at home and abroad? What if they embrace none of the various opportunities that are afforded them in the course of Providence, of widening its dominion? What if they feel and express no joy when they hear of the triumphs which it is gaining over every thing that exalts itself against God, that enslaves the conscience and degrades the condition of man? And what if in wantonness or malignity they oppose the labours of the Christian philanthropist, and brand him with the stigma of fanaticism, and hold him up to the ridicule and contempt of a world already too willing to laugh at those who care for the souls and the eternity of their brethren, and thus try to paralyse every generous effort for the cause of the gospel, and to doom the race of Adam to that idolatry and superstition, that sin and misery, from which it was revealed to rescue them? What does all this mean, and what can it mean, but that the persons alluded to have no real conviction of Christianity—that if they think they have, they are somehow or other deceiving themselves—that they have the “evil heart of unbelief.”

‘ I would be far from saying, indeed, that this charge is applicable to any man, merely because he does not adopt the precise methods of supporting or propagating Christianity which others have proposed to him—because he does not enter into this scheme to-day, and into that scheme to-morrow—because he does not join this Bible Society and that Missionary Society—because he does not attend a sermon for this spiritual purpose, and a meeting for that spiritual purpose—because he will not give money at one time, and active service at another—because, in short, he will not submit to be guided and controlled in all his movements by those who choose to be dictators in the field of Christian benevolence. Such modes of judging, we lament to say, are sometimes practised; but they are uncandid, unjust, and injurious; and I would equally deprecate and avoid them. I leave every man to the exercise of his own discretion as to the plans he is to adopt, the means he is to employ, the efforts he is to make, for promoting the interests of Christianity. I only desiderate that he

shall keep these interests in view, and that he shall pursue them: I desire this as an essential evidence of his faith; and if he is destitute of this evidence, I feel myself necessitated to conclude, that he has the "evil heart of unbelief." And I put it to the judgement of every one of you to say, if the conclusion be not legitimate and irresistible.

" You may not have hitherto considered the subject in this light, and you may be still unwilling to view it in this light. But surely if you do nothing for supporting the religion of Christ when it is attacked, or for communicating it to those who have it not—if you do not rejoice in the conquests which it achieves over its enemies—if you assist in loading with obloquy and scorn such of your fellow-men as are zealously affected in the work of evangelizing the earth—if you even withhold your aid from those institutions we have referred to, merely because you love your money better than your Saviour, or than those for whom your Saviour died—and if your recollection does not furnish you with any instances in which, by means of religious truth, you have attempted to " save a soul from death, and to hide a multitude of sins"—then how is it possible that you can, with any consistency, be said to have believed with your heart in the gospel of divine truth—the gospel of eternal salvation—the gospel of compassion and of love? Possessing a scheme of philosophy, in whose tendency to advance the improvement of the species you had every degree of confidence—possessing a discovery in one of the common arts of life, from the communication of which you would anticipate an accession of comfort and prosperity to the people—possessing a medical preparation, of whose efficacy in curing diseases, heretofore deemed hopeless, you had a perfect conviction—would not your belief in all these things determine you to make them known, and to bring them into beneficial operation as widely as possible? And what can we say for you, if, professing to believe in the truth, and necessity, and efficacy of the gospel, as a system of eternal redemption for the human race, you are at no pains to give it circulation and effect? What can we say for you, but that your profession is vain, and that there lodges beneath it an "evil heart of unbelief." "

Sermon VII. is on the Sinfulness of Infidelity. In the last two discourses, we have the application of the whole subject, which is in every point of view truly excellent. The Author addresses, first, parents; secondly, young men; thirdly, those who occupy the higher stations; fourthly, those who fill the lower stations of society; and fifthly, preachers and ministers of the gospel.

One of the most distinguishing qualities of the present work is, the distinct method and clearness which pervade every part of it. There is not a single sentence at which the most ordinary reader will need stop, in order to discover the Author's meaning. The style is strong and pointed, and rises often to true eloquence; not that eloquence which consists in a glitter

of metaphor and antithesis, but that which results from thinking clearly and feeling warmly, and which consists in the energetic and unaffected statement of the most important and interesting sentiments. We consider the style of these sermons as furnishing an excellent model for pulpit composition. The discourses cannot but be regarded as extremely seasonable, and we have unmixed satisfaction in recommending them to the attention of our readers.

Art. VII. *The Grave of the last Saxon*; or the Legend of the Curfew. A Poem. By the Rev. W. L. Bowles, Author of *Letters to Lord Byron*, Poems, &c. 8vo. pp. 112. 8vo. Price 6s. London. 1822.

WE have already slightly adverted to the critical controversy which Mr. Bowles appears in his titlepage anxious to commemorate. It was a quarrel, we believe, about the poetical claims of Pope, and the 'eternal principles' of poetry, which Mr. Bowles seems to understand better in theory than in practice, and his noble opponent better in practice than in theory. The former is very orthodox in his poetical creed, and had he but the requisite placidity and calmness of temper, might even do for a Reviewer; while Lord Byron, it is evident, is fit only to be a poet. Those finer, unwritten rules which genius works by, he understands, or instinctively observes without understanding; but he makes sad work with criticism. Indeed, we cannot avoid taking this opportunity of remarking, how much worse off poets and authors would find themselves in each other's hands, than in those of the licentiates of criticism. There is as much difference between the temper of an angry rival or petulant satirist, and that of a professional critic, as between the temper of a lancet and that of a tomahawk. To be sure, Jeffray and Gifford, the former especially when he falls foul of a Laker, the latter when he clutches a radical or a woman, are rather merciless. But then, Mr. Gifford is a poet, and began his career as a satirist. Think of the Dun-ciad; think of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; think of the quarrels of authors from time immemorial; read Mr. Bowles's letter to Mr. Gilchrist, &c.; and you will acknowledge, gentle author, that ours is a clement tribunal, and that it were better to fall into the hands of the surest critic, than to lie at the mercy of a rival poet or angry satirist.

Mr. Bowles is chiefly known, and will longest be remembered, by his sonnets. We are indebted to him for some elegant specimens of that delicate kind of poem, which well suits the miniature painting of sentimental and descriptive writers. In blank verse, they are apt to run riot in epithets, or to wind their readers with the length of their periods. For

instance, in the introductory canto to the present poem, we have (at p. 4) a sentence of eighteen lines, followed by one of eleven, and another of nine; three periods in near forty lines. The simple idea thus enlarged upon, is, that the Poet will not sing either of Italy or of South America, for this very good reason, that he is going to sing of green England; which idea, there can be no doubt that Mr. Bowles would have expressed twice as neatly and as pointedly within the compass of a sonnet, and there would have been a saving of twenty-four lines to the reader. The story in the Arabian Nights, of the giant whose immensely expansive bulk was, by means of a certain talisman, comprised within a small casket, was, no doubt, intended to shew the literati of Bagdad, what may be done by compression: at least, it will serve us for an illustration.

We have that respect for Mr. Bowles as an old acquaintance, that would lead us to speak as favourably as we can of his present production; but the truth is, that he has attempted something above his reach. This, in a young writer, would bespeak a commendable ambition: in a veteran, it indicates a mistaken estimate of his powers. In "The Grave of the last 'Saxon,'" we have, brought together, agreeably to the most authorized *recipes*, all the fitting materials of poetry; warriors, monks, weird sisters, pages, spirits, and distressed damsels; moreover, for scenery, abbeys, caves, forests, castles; for the *dramatis personæ*, names of historic grandeur and euphony; and for the subject, an interesting period of English history. But, 'bubble, bubble, toil and trouble,' the charm is wanting to make all good. The materials will not mix, and the cauldron will not boil, though the imps sing to it in such strains as the following :

‘ Around, around, around,
Troop and dance we to the sound,
Whilst mocking imps cry, Ho ! ho ! ho !
On earth there will be woe ! more woe !’

And again, ministering spirits sing :

‘ I.

‘ I have syllables of dread ;
They can wake the dreamless dead.

‘ II.

‘ I, a dark sepulchral song,
That can lead Hell’s phantom throng.

‘ III.

‘ Like a nightmare I will rest
This night upon King William’s breast !

‘ Spirits and Night-hags.

‘ Around, around, around,
Dance we to the dismal sound
Of dying shrieks and mortal woe,
Whilst antic imps shout, Ho ! Ho ! Ho !

It is well they do not shout Ha ! ha ! ha ! But, leaving the imps to their pranks, the spirits of the earthquake, of the storm, of the battle, and of the fire—they are certainly spirits much *below proof*—the other persons of the tale or drama, whichever we are to call it, are quite as shadowy and undefined as they are. They swear in character, by St. Anne, and by a name more sacred, which holy name is used much more freely than we think quite befitting a clergyman ; but in little else do they act in character. Edgar Atheling prettily enough thus talks to the daughter of Harold.

‘ “ Oh, no ! I will keep watch with you till dawn—
To me most soothing is an hour like this !
And who that saw, as now, the morning stars
Begin to pale, and the grey twilight steal
So calmly on the seas and wide-hush'd world,
Could deem there was a sound of misery
On earth ? Nay, who could hear thy gentle voice,
Fair maid, and think there was a voice of hate
Or strife beneath the stillness of that cope
Above us ? Oh ! I hate the noise of arms—
Here will I watch with you.” Then, after pause,
“ Poor England is not what it once hath been ;
And strange are both our fortunes.”

‘ “ Atheling,”
(Adela answer'd) “ early piety
Hath disciplin'd my heart to every change.”

All the Saxons in the poem are persons of astonishing piety, warriors and all. But the above dialogue will be thought strange discourse for the supposed time, and place, and personages. Edgar Atheling has been riding hard to bring tidings of the fall of York and the approach of the victorious Saxon army. Adela has been sitting up all night ; unattended, by the by, by a single female, and only a grey monk with her ; which we should not have recommended to any young lady to do, were the grey monk Mr. Bowles himself. She has been all agitation and anxiety ; and when she heard Edgar on the stairs, thought it was the Normans, poor girl, that had somehow got into the castle, and were coming to murder her. Under these circumstances, we think her early piety by no means accounts for her calmness, much less for her keeping Atheling, as she does, from his supper, to hear a long story.

‘ Listen—I will be
 (So to beguile the creeping hours of time)
 A tale-teller.’

If she could ‘a tale unfold,’ Mr. Bowles, it is plain, cannot. The story wants consistency, and it wants a catastrophe; at least, a close. That which the Author designed to be ‘a ‘centre,’ round which ‘the passions brought into action’ might revolve, to wit, the grave of Harold, answers neither this purpose of a pivot or hinge for the poem to turn upon, nor that of a point of sufficient interest for its conclusion. Mr. Bowles conducts us to Waltham Abbey, where he has assembled the greater part of the personages of the tale, to *look at* Harold’s grave; and when we are all expectation of some tragic or heroic circumstance to wind up the scene, he coolly opens the portal of the abbey, and turns us adrift, Adela and all, at twelve o’clock at night, into the open air; the Poet vanishing at the same moment, like a mischievous will o’ the wisp, just as we thought we had come up to the place which the light shone from.

“ ‘Tis dangerous lingering here: the fire-eyed lynx
 Would lap your blood!—Westward, beyond the Lea,
 There is a cell, where ye may rest to night.”
 The portal open’d—on the battlements
 The moonlight shone, silent and beautiful!
 Before them lay their path through the wide world.
 The nightingales were singing as they pass’d;
 And, looking back upon the glimmering towers,
 They, led by Ailric, and with thoughts on Heav’n,
 Through the lone forest held their pensive way.’

We know not which to consider as the worst behaviour, for the monks of Waltham to treat Harold’s children thus inhospitably, or for Mr. Bowles to act the same part by his readers. Nevertheless, to shew that we bear him no malice, we will exhibit his talents to much better advantage in the following descriptive passage. Here he is more at home.

‘ Tranquil and clear the autumnal day declined.
 The barks at anchor cast their lengthen’d shades
 On the gray bastion’d walls. Airs from the deep
 Wander’d, and touched the cordage as they pass’d,
 Then hover’d with expiring breath, and stirr’d
 Scarce the quiescent pennant. The bright sea
 Lay silent in its glorious amplitude,
 Without; far up, in the pale atmosphere,
 A white cloud, here and there, hung overhead,
 And some red freckles streak’d the horizon’s edge,
 Far as the sight could reach. Beneath the rocks,

That rear'd their dark brows beetling o'er the bay,
 The gulls and guillemots, with short, quaint cry,
 Just broke the sleeping stillness of the air,
 Or skimming, almost touch'd the level main,
 With wings far seen, and more intensely white,
 Opposed to the blue space ; whilst Panope
 Roll'd in the *offing*. Humber's ocean-stream,
 Inland went sounding on by rocks, and sands,
 And castle, yet so sounding as it seemed
 A voice amidst the hush'd and listening world,
 That spoke of peace ; whilst from the bastion's point
 One piping red-breast might almost be heard.
 Such quiet all things hush'd, so peaceable
 The hour. The very swallows, ere they leave
 The coast to pass a long and weary way
 O'er ocean's solitude, seem to renew
 Once more their summer feelings, as a light
 So sweet would last for ever, whilst they flock
 In the brief sunshine of the turret top.'

This is a very pleasing picture. We regret to detract from it by a single remark, but can scarcely help suspecting that *Panope* is introduced in downright waggery. Milton has,

‘ On the level brine,
 Sleek Panope with all her sisters *play'd*.’

The propriety and elegance of which, it needed not Milton's name to sanction. But was ever such a travestie of all that is classical, as in the incongruous expressions, ‘ *Panope roll'd* ‘ in the *offing* ?’ We must just add, that where a red-breast could be *seen*, we should imagine that it might, not only ‘ al-most,’ but quite be heard.

There are several songs scattered through the poem. The worst is entitled, ‘ *Song of the Battle of Hastings*,’ which opens thus :

‘ The Norman armament, beneath thy rocks, St. Valerie,
 Is moor'd ; and, streaming to the morn, three hundred banners fly.’

Does Mr. Bowles mistake this for rhyme, or for metre ?— We must try to find something better. The following is so little in harmony with the context, that it will gain, rather than lose, by being detached from it.

‘ Oh ! when 'tis Summer weather,
 And the yellow bee, with fairy sound,
 The waters clear is humming round,
 And the Cuckoo sings unseen,
 And the leaves are waving green—
 Oh, then 'tis sweet,
 In some remote retreat,

To hear the murmuring dove,
With those whom on earth alone we love,
And to wind through the green wood together.

* But when 'tis Winter weather,
And crosses grieve,
And friends deceive,
And rain and sleet
The lattice beat—
Oh, then, 'tis sweet
To sit and sing

Of the friends with whom, in the days of spring,
We roam'd through the greenwood together!

Our readers will perceive that, while we have found ourselves unable to speak in complimentary terms of Mr. Bowles's present performance, we by no means wish to depreciate his just merits. His want of success in this instance, is owing chiefly to his having gone out of his line: he has attempted a song above his compass. A man who can do many things well, may get fairly laughed at for attempting the one thing he cannot do, in which case he has no one to blame but himself.

Art. VIII. *The Doctrines of Grace conducive to eminent Holiness.* A Sermon delivered at New Salter's Hall. By John Boutet Innes. 8vo. pp. 66. Price 2s. London. 1823.

THREE are two classes of preachers by whom the position which this Sermon is intended to illustrate, would seem to be secretly questioned; those who keep back the doctrines, or at least preach them with considerable timidity and reserve, from the fear that they should not have this holy tendency, and those who preach the doctrines exclusively of their practical end. And unfortunately, these two classes too often act as mutual repellents to the extent of driving each other into these opposite extremes; or they furnish each other with a pretext for presenting in either case a mutilated view of Christianity. We have heard it gravely urged in apology for the preacher who has been admitted to confine himself to the statement of doctrine, 'Well, it is a good fault; there are abundance of preachers to set against him, who err on the other side.' And thus, they think, a sort of balance may be struck between the opposite extremes. But even if the two supposed halves of the truth would fit each other, they are never brought into contact. The bearers of the one style of preaching are never found seeking the corrective of the other. Both classes embrace the partial view as the entire Gospel, and both exhibit the mutilated impression in their characters. 'But let me ask,' says Mr. Innes, 'Why

• should there be partiality? Why should we be indignant at the omission of the *doctrinal* parts of the system, and tolerant of the omission of the *practical* parts of it?" The very spirit of such persons proves, that there is a large portion of inspired truth with which their minds have not been fairly brought into contact. They delight in the promises of the Gospel, but "to "delight in the law of God" forms no part of their orthodoxy. Jealous of their privileges as set free from the bondage of what is termed a legal spirit, they wince even at the yoke of Christ.

Mr. Innes's Sermon comprises an able vindication of the doctrines of grace from the unfounded objections which have been brought against them on the one side, from the Apostolic day to our own, and a seasonable protest against the abuse of those doctrines which prevails on the other. We regret to think that the publication of a sermon on such a topic, is by no means a work of supererogation or a superfluous service. To the preachers of this system, Mr. Innes thus addresses himself in conclusion:

* * * * *

1. We are taught that the interests of holiness will never be injured by a full exhibition of the doctrines of grace. Let us preach them in all their completeness. Let no sentiment which forms a constituent part of them be withheld. Let them be as prominent in our addresses, as they are in the pages of the New Testament. Let us give no just occasion for others to intimate, (and we understand that such intimations are by no means uncommon,) that *they* are the only persons who are not afraid to preach the Gospel. This is a point on which we need not hesitate for a moment.

* * * * *

But while we preach a scriptural scheme, let it be exhibited in a scriptural form. By every principle of allegiance to God, and regard to the best interests of men, we are required to take heed, lest by any incautious expressions we give countenance to those who say, 'Let us sin that grace may abound.' Oh to be personally the subjects of that holy sensibility, which shall instinctively recoil at the base suggestion! which shall constrain us, under the influence of horror, to say, 'God forbid!' If such be the state of our minds, there will not proceed from our lips that at which the pious would mourn, and the impious rejoice. As 'good men, out of the good treasure of the heart,' we shall 'bring forth good things.' In publishing the Gospel, let us never forget its *character*. It is not merely a system—it is a remedy. Let us not imagine that we have only to preach a system, and that the annunciation of it is to act as a kind of amulet or charm, by which we drive away the evil spirits. Such misconceptions, it is to be feared, are not uncommon. Those by whom they are cherished, are in the habit of referring us for illustrations, if not for proofs, to some of the miraculous facts recorded in the Old Testament. Thus we are told, the walls of Jericho fell down, when the priests of the Lord blew the divinely appointed trumpets. The two cases are in their natures to-

tally different. Such a supposed illustration has no countenance whatever from the New Testament. Paul does not compare his ministry and that of his fellow labourers to the 'blast' of a ram's horn, but to the application of the *appropriate* warlike instrument which levels opposition before it. 'The weapons of our warfare,' said he, 'are not carnal, but mighty through God to pulling down of strong holds.' The Gospel, indeed, is but an instrument, dependent for its success upon the power of God; but it is the appointed and suitable instrument. Let us keep this in view, and then we shall not merely address the faculty of hearing, but 'commend ourselves to every man's *conscience* in the sight of God.' 'Knowing the terrors of the Lord,' we shall 'persuade men.' By the 'mercies of God,' we shall 'beseech' them. We shall 'warn every man, and teach every man.' The judgements of those whom we address, we shall inform on the first principles of the Christian scheme, and prove, by our mode of administering it, that 'the word of his grace is able to build them up, and give them an inheritance among all them that are sanctified.' And whilst we ought not, under any circumstances, to be deficient in doctrinal statement, we shall, I hope, never prove ourselves to be traitors to the *practical part of God's Revelation*. While some assert that they are not afraid to preach the Gospel *doctrinally*,—(doughty champions!—considering the predilections of those by whom they are surrounded, they incur no risk:—may we prove that we are not afraid to preach the Gospel *fully*, and that therefore we are not afraid to preach it *practically*: that we are not afraid to tell the servant the duties he owes to a master, or to tell the master the duties he owes to a servant: that we are not afraid to tell the child the duties he owes to a parent, nor a parent the duties he owes to a child: that we are not afraid to 'affirm,' and that not only occasionally, but 'constantly,' and not only generally, but in detail, 'that they which have believed in God, must be careful to maintain good works.' pp. 53—5.

Art. IX. *The Word of God concerning all who are in Trouble or Affliction.* Second Edition. By a Clergyman of the Church of England. 12mo. pp. 26. Price 6d. Retford. 1822.

THIS is a very judicious tract, written with great plainness, and uniting kindness with fidelity. An afflicted mind requires delicate handling, but it is in the time of affliction that truth must be urged home on the conscience, according as the sufferer is able to bear it. Those only who are accustomed to visit the widow, and the fatherless, and the poor in their affliction, know how difficult it is to be faithful and yet not harsh, to administer legitimate comfort tempered with seasonable counsel. It is frequently impossible to say much, but a 'silent preacher' like this tract, may be left in the cottage or the garret, with the happiest effect.

Art. X. 1. *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.* By William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P. 8vo. pp. 78. London. 1823.

2. *Negro Slavery; or a View of some of the more prominent Features of that State of Society as it exists in the United States of America, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica.* 8vo. pp. 118. Price 3s. London. 1823.

ALTHOUGH little room is left us to notice the important subject of these deeply interesting pamphlets, we cannot let another month pass over without earnestly recommending them to the notice of our readers. The degraded state of our colonial population is a consideration which ought to touch every professed Christian. It is a national sin and abomination, the guilt of which the man is guilty in some degree of participating, who can think of it with indifference, or refuse to think of when it is thus placed before him. We are anxious to stand clear of this guilt, and now take shame for our past supineness. The mistaken idea, that when the Abolition of the Slave Trade received the assent of the British Legislature, every thing was secured, has, we fear, too extensively induced, of late years, a criminal inattention to the ultimate object, *the abolition of slavery itself.* The details contained in Mr. Wilberforce's eloquent yet dispassionate pamphlet, will dissipate this mistake, and will leave without excuse those who may have hitherto acted, or rather ceased from taking any active interest in the subject, under a false impression. We trust that the pulpit as well as the press, will be employed to urge home upon the consciences of British Christians, their duty and their responsibility in reference to this important object, which, more than perhaps any other, demands immediate legislative interference. That interference, if called for by the public voice, will not, cannot be withheld. We shall take an early opportunity of returning to the subject. In the mean time, we leave without readers this solemn appeal of the venerable individual who now once more, in his declining years, comes forward with the unspent ardour of his youth, to plead the cause of our African brethren.

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the Press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.

Mr. J. B. Williams, of Shrewsbury, has been for some time past, employing moments of leisure from professional avocations, in selecting and arranging the numerous MSS. in his possession, and within his reach, of the venerable Philip Henry, with a view to a new and greatly enlarged edition of his Life, by his Son Matthew. Mr. Williams is desirous, prior to committing the work to the press, that he may have an opportunity of inspecting every existing document which may at all bear upon the object, and, therefore, solicits from the holders of such papers, the temporary loan of them—more particularly diaries and letters in Mr. Philip Henry's handwriting—under the assurance that, if forwarded to Mr. W. by coach, they shall be most carefully preserved, and returned free of expense.

A volume of Sermons on several Subjects, with notes critical, historical, and explanatory, by the Rev. Charles Swann, late of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, will shortly be published.

In the press, The Sunday Scholar's Friendly Instructor, in familiar dialogues. By the Rev. Joseph Kirby.

A new and elegant edition of the whole works of Mr. Archibald M'Lean, in 7 vols. 8vo. will be ready in a few days.

Mr. J. Mitchell is preparing for the press, Introductory Exercises to the Writing of Greek, on a plan similar to that of his Introductory Latin Exercises.

Dr. Gordon Smith has in the press, a new edition of the Principles of Forensic Medicine, which will contain much additional matter. The volume will embrace every topic on which the medical Practitioner is liable to be called to give a professional opinion in aid of judiciary inquiries.

Dr. Forster is about to publish, Illustrations of the Mode of maintaining Health, curing Diseases, and protracting Longevity, by attention to the state of the Digestive Organs; with popular Ob-

servations on the Influence of Peculiarities of Air, of Diet, and of Exercise, on the Human System. In one vol. 8vo.

Mr. Earle has in the press a work containing, 1. Practical Remarks on Fractures at the Upper Part of the Thigh, and particularly Fractures within the Capsular Ligament; with critical Observations on Sir Astley Cooper's Treatise on that subject.—2. Observations on Fractures of the Olecranon.—3. Description of a new Apparatus for more effectually securing the Upper Extremity in cases of complicated Injury of the Shoulder-joint and Scapula, and two other papers.

In the press, a second edition of the Theory and Practice of Gas Lighting, by T. S. Peckston. In this edition, the author has considerably abridged the theoretical part of the work as given in the first edition; and to render it as useful as possible to every practical man, there is introduced much original matter relative to coal gas, and an entirely new treatise on the economy of the gases obtained for illuminating purposes from oil, turf, &c.

Mr. J. Frederic Daniell, F.R.S., has in the press, a volume of Meteorological Essays, embracing, among others, the following important subjects: On the Constitution of the Atmosphere; on the Radiation of the Heat in the Atmosphere; on Meteorological Instruments; on the Climate of London; on the construction and uses of a new Hygrometer.

Mr. Robert Meikleham, Civil Engineer, has in the press, a Practical Treatise on the Various Methods of Heating Buildings, by Steam, Hot-air, Stoves, and Open Fires. With some introductory observations on the combustion of fuel, on the contrivances for burning smoke, and other subjects connected with the economy and distribution of heat; with numerous explanatory engravings.

Mr. Charles Dubois, F.L.S., is about to publish in a small volume, an easy Introduction to Lamarck's Arrangement of the Genera of Shells, being a free

translation of that part of his work (*L'Histoire des Animaux sans vertébres*) which treats on Mollusca with Testaceous coverings; to which are added illustrative remarks, additional observations, and a synoptic table.

Captain A. Cruise, of the 84th Regiment, has in the press, *Journal of a Ten Month's Residence in New Zealand*, which will appear next month in an octavo volume.

James Shergold Boone, M.A. will publish in a few days, a Poetical Sketch, in Three Epistles, addressed to the Right Hon. George Canning, entitled, *Men and Things in 1823*.

The Rev. G. Wilkins, Author of the *History of the Destruction of Jerusalem*, &c. &c., will shortly publish in a duodecimo volume, *An Antidote to the Poison of Scepticism*.

In the course of a few weeks, the Rev. R. Warner, Rector of Great Chalfield, Wilts, will publish the first part of *Illustrations Historical, Biographical, and Miscellaneous, of the Novels by the Author of Waverly*, with criticisms general and particular, in three parts.

Preparing for publication, *Historical Notices of two characters in Peveril of the Peak*; to be printed in post 8vo. uniform with that work.

In the press, a *Memoir of Central India*, with the history and copious illustrations of the past and present condition of that Country. In 2 vols 8vo.,

with an original map recently constructed, tables of the revenue, population, &c., a geological report and comprehensive index. By Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., &c.

In the press, *Imaginary Conversations of Eminent Statesmen and Literary Men, Ancient and Modern*. By Walter Savage Landor, Esq.

In the press, *Journal of a Tour in France in the Years 1816 and 1817*. By Frances Jane Cary. 1 vol. 8vo.

Flora Domestica, or the Poetical Flower Garden. Being a Catalogue of Plants that may be reared in the House; especially noticing such as are most remarkable for beauty of form or colour, luxuriance of foliage, sweetness of perfume, or from interesting or poetical associations, with their history; with directions for their treatment. Illustrated with numerous quotations from the works of the poets by whom the several Flowers have been celebrated.

In the press, *Mark Macrabin the Cameronian, a Tale*. By Allan Cunningham, Author of *Sir Maranaduke Maxwell*, &c.

In a few days will be published, a Letter to the Rev. H. H. Norris, M. A. Perpetual Curate of St. John's Chapel, Hackney, &c.; containing Animadversions on His "Respectful Letter to the Earl of Liverpool," on the Subject of the Bible Society. By the Rev. John Paterson, D.D. St. Petersburg.

Art. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America, from Childhood to the Age of Nineteen. With anecdotes descriptive of their manners and customs, and some account of the soil, climate, and vegetable productions of the territory westward of the Mississippi. By John D. Hunter. 8vo. 12s.

Three Years' Adventures of a Minor, in England, Africa, the West Indies, South Carolina, and Georgia. By William Butterworth, Engraver. post 8vo. 9s.

A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Sergeant B——, late of the Royals. Written by Himself. 12mo. 5s.

FINE ARTS.

A Series of Groups, illustrating the Physiognomy, Manners, and Character

of the People of France and Germany. By G. Lewis. In imperial 8vo. 3l. 3s.—medium 4to. 3l. 15s.—and proofs, on royal 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d. half-bound.

HISTORY.

The Fifth Volume of Dr. Lingard's History of England, containing the Reigns of the Queens Mary and Elizabeth. 4to. 1l. 15s.

Mémoires Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, sur la Révolution de Naples en 1820 et 1821; et les causes qui l'ont amenée. Par le Général Carascosa. Accompagnés de pièces justificatives. 8vo. 12s.

The Saxon Chronicles, with an English Translation, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By the Rev. J. Ingram, late Saxon Professor in the University of Oxford. To which are added, a new

and copious Chronological, Topographical, and Glossarial Index, with a short Grammar of the Saxon Languages. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

The Third Volume of the History of England during the Middle Ages, comprising the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. and Henry VII. By Sharon Turner, F.S.A. 4to. 2l. 2s.

MEDICINE.

An Exposition of the Principles of Pathology, and of the Treatment of Diseases. By Daniel Pring, M. D. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. London. 8vo. 14s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letters on the Art of Miniature Painting. By L. Mauison. 7s.

An Essay on the History and Theory of Music; and on the Qualities, Capabilities, and Management of the human Voice. By J. Nathan, Author of the Hebrew Melodies, &c. royal 4to. 2l.

The Art of Valsing Rents and Tithes; wherein is explained the Manner of valuing the Tenant's Right, on entering and quitting Farms, in Yorkshire and the adjoining Counties. By J. S. Bayldon, Land Agent. 8vo. 7s.

Integrity: a Tale. By Mrs. Hoffland, Author of Tales of the Manor—Son of a Genius, &c. &c. 12mo. 6s.

Body and Soul. Volume the Second. 8vo. 9s.

On Education. By the late President Dwight. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

PHILOLOGY.

An Introduction to the Hebrew Language. By W. H. Helmemann, Professor of the Hebrew and German Languages. 5s.

POETRY.

Italy: a Poem. By Samuel Rogers, Esq. crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

The Works of Garcilasso de la Vega, surnamed the Prince of Castilian Poets, translated into English Verse; with a Critical and Historical Essay on Spanish Poetry, and a Life of the Author. By J. H. Wiffen. post 8vo. 12s.

Poetical Memoirs.—The Exile: a Tale. By James Bird, Author of the Vale of Slaughden. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Fables for the Holy Alliance, Rhymes

on the Road, &c. &c. By Thomas Brown, the Younger, Secretary of the Poco-eu-ante Society, and Author of the Fudge Family and the Twopenny Post-bag. 8s. 6d.

Cardinal Beaton; a Drama, in Five Acts. By William Tennant, Author of Anster Fair, &c. 8vo. 6s. sewed.

The Forest Minstrel and other Poems. By William and Mary Howitt, f. cap 8vo. 7s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Sabbaths at Home: or a Help to their right Improvement; founded on the xliid. and xliid. Psalms. Intended for the use of pious persons when prevented from attending the public worship of God. By Henry March. 8vo. 7s.

Lectures on Genesis; or plain Historical Sermons on the Leading Characters and most Important Events recorded in the Book of Genesis. By James Rudge, D. D. F.R.S. 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 1s.

Bishop Marsh's Theological Lectures, Part VII. On the Authority of the Old Testament. 8vo. 2s.

Five Lectures on the Gospel of St. John, as bearing Testimony to the Divinity of our Saviour; delivered on the Fridays during Lent, 1823. By C. J. Blomfield, D. D. Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and Archdeacon of Colchester. 12mo. 2s.

A Present for the Convalescent; or, for those to whom, it is hoped, some recent affliction has been attended with a Divine Blessing; and for New Converts to Religion in general. By the Rev. John Fry, Rector of Desford, Leicestershire, Author of the Sick Man's Friend, &c. 12mo. 4s.

The Faith once delivered to the Saints Defended: being the Substance of three Sermons on the Consistency, Truth and Importance of the generally-received Opinion concerning the Person of Christ. By William France. 8vo. 3s.

Prayers for the Use of Children and Youth in Sunday Schools. By the Rev. A. Bishop. 2d. or 1s. 8d. per dozen.

A Sermon on the death of the late J. Plaistow, Esq. Preached at Chichester. By William Vowles, M. A.

The Harmony of the Scriptures vindicated, or apparently contradictory passages reconciled, in a series of lectures. By John Hayter Cox. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

Sir, 8, Camden Street, Camden Town, April 21st, 1823

A FEW days ago I met with the passage in the last number of your Review, in which you do me the honour of introducing me and my religious sentiments to the notice of the public. I met with it very accidentally; for I cannot declare myself 'A constant Reader' of your work: and how often I may have similarly figured in your pages, I know not. You are pleased to amuse yourself and your readers with my "absurdities"—my "almost facetious reasoning"—my "Hibernian Logic," &c. &c. I confess I do not consider it altogether fair to let off merely such incidental squibs against one, who has been for so many years publishing his sentiments on scriptural subjects. If you think—as no doubt you do—that my sentiments are false, and that you can refute them, why do you not directly review any of my publications in which they are asserted? I send you copies of two or three of them, that you may not plead ignorance of their existence. Meanwhile I trust that your feelings, as professedly a gentleman and a man of letters,—to say nothing more,—will lead you to give a place to the following brief remarks on the passage, in which you hold me up to the laughter of your readers.

It is rather unfair either to adduce a quotation from my writings, without referring to the work in which it is to be found; or to mark as a quotation from my writings, words which are nowhere to be found in them. That you have done this, I am sure: though I readily admit that an argument substantially *similar* to that which you form for me, does occur in some of my theological pieces:—I cannot now exactly say in which.—But, passing this, I come to the reasoning which you mark as *absurd*, as *Hibernian logic, jesuitry, &c.* And pardon me, as a blundering Hibernian, for avowing my unaltered conviction that the reasoning is most simple, clear, and conclusive.

I have long contended—with those that you term Sandemanians, and against the popular divines—that the scriptural meaning of *faith in Christ* is merely *believing the testimony* contained in the Scriptures concerning Christ;—in that simple sense of the word *believing* which supersedes all further inquiry into the import of the term *faith*, while it leaves open the grand inquiry into the divine *testimony* which is sent into the world "for the obedience of faith." I have maintained this in opposition to all the views, which represent *faith* as some mysterious *work, act, or exercise* of the mind, which a sinner yet unbelieving is called to *perform*—instructed *how* to perform—and exhorted to exert himself for its *due* performance. And I admit, Sir, that I have been so *absurd* as to argue, that those who maintain any such views of *faith* as the latter, are but deceiving themselves and others in asserting—(as they often do)—that a sinner is not justified *by works*, or by something that he *does*; inasmuch as, for the life of me, I cannot distinguish between a *work* done—and an

act done—by the sinner:—such is the habitude of my *Hibernian* intellect. Indeed the only difference between you, for instance, and the grossest advocates for justification *by works*, appears to me plainly to be this; that you conceive the thing to be *done* for justification in the sight of God, is a *mental* act, while they conceive it to be what is called in common parlance—an *outward* good life.

Now, Sir, it is very easy for an anonymous writer in a Review to assert that this simple reasoning is “almost facetious”—“meant to turn the whole subject of justification by faith to ridicule”—that it “hardly deserves a serious answer,” &c. &c. But let me observe to you, that such assertions are no argument; though perhaps the most successful way of opposing truth. The more absurd my reasoning is, the more easily may it be exposed by fair reasoning. I invite you to the attempt, but I suspect you will find it too hard for you.

I am the more confirmed in this suspicion, when I look at the little scrap of Eclectic logic,—(I will not call it *English*: for I would leave the illiberality of such national sneers to the privileged order of writers who assume the office of Reviewers)—which you condescend to employ against my “Hibernian logic.” You say—“the reasoner would hardly deny that *hearing*...is an *act* of the mind.” It must amuse you greatly to be told, that *I do seriously deny it*. In *hearing* there is an impression made on my bodily organs, and conveyed to my mind: but in receiving that impression, I have learned from Mr. Locke—(who I suppose was of *Irish* extraction)—that I am perfectly *passive*; that I cannot help receiving the impression, and cannot alter or modify it. Your logic may have taught you otherwise. But pardon me for requesting that you will forbear the exercise of your *active* powers, the first time a pistol is fired off by your ear, and try *not to hear* it. You seem indeed to have had some misgiving about the assertion that *hearing* is an *act* of the mind; for you immediately subjoin the term *listening*, as if the two things were equivalent. In *listening*, Sir, the man is *active*, in so far as he endeavours to dispose his organs so as to catch the sound. Yet even then, in *hearing* the sound, I do assert, that the mind *does* nothing. Probably you may perceive in this distinction materials for a very fine popular sermon on the nature of the thing to be *done* by a sinner in order to justification.

One word on my meaning “to turn the doctrine of justification by faith into ridicule.” What is commonly put forward under that name by the class of divines called evangelical, I view as a doctrine at once *wicked* and *absurd*:—most wicked, as an insidious corruption of the most important scriptural truth; and most absurd, as outraging every principle of right reason, and as utterly inconsistent with various principles which they themselves verbally acknowledge. I therefore consider myself not only bound to expose its contrariety with the word of God, but at full liberty to mark its *ridiculous absurdity*. This however is a very different thing from turning the blessed doctrine of *justification by faith* into ridicule.

As to the Rev. James Carlile’s remarks on my sentiments, though you vouch for their *justice*, it would be very easy to expose the so-

phistry and misrepresentation, on which they proceed: and perhaps I may sometime or another take occasion to do so. But I confess I have never yet looked at his book; though I was informed on its first appearance that he had done me the honour of attacking me.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c. &c.

JOHN WALKER.

It will not be necessary for us to comment at any length upon this Letter. The representation given of Mr. Walker's sentiments in the article referred to, was founded on a passage cited by Mr. Carlyle, in his Notes, from "Remarks on certain Questions proposed to the serious Consideration of the Disciples of Christ connected with the Congregational Churches in Scotland, &c. By John Walker." It occurs in note 11 to that tract. Mr. Walker's admission, that 'an *argument substantially similar*' does occur in some of his pieces, though he cannot recollect in which, is a sufficient verification of the citation.

It is but too evident from Mr. Walker's letter, that Mr. Carlyle did not misunderstand his language. He admits that, 'in listening, the man is active;' then, listening is, by his own shewing, 'an act done;' and an act, he says, is 'a work.' If justification follows upon a person's *listening to* the gospel, therefore, he is justified, it seems, by a work. We would not willingly draw down upon our heads a second epistle from our correspondent; but this, so far as we can understand him, is his notion: That the doctrine of justification by free grace, is absolutely nullified, if faith be consequent on a man's 'endeavouring to dispose his organs so as to catch the sound' of the Gospel. We certainly do not feel it necessary to undertake the refutation of this opinion.

That 'the Scriptural meaning of faith in Christ, is, merely believing the testimony contained in the Scriptures concerning Christ,' is a position which Mr. Walker is strangely mistaken in supposing peculiar to the Sandemanians. The Reviewer maintains the same thing. Were this all that Mr. Walker contended for, he would speedily find himself in the mortifying predicament of not having an opponent to contend with among the popular divines. But, unfortunately for himself, to this point he does not confine his polemical zeal.

Mr. Walker may deem 'the only difference' between us and the grossest advocates for justification by works, a very slight and unimportant one; since he recognises no distinction between a meritorious cause and a necessary condition. To most persons, this difference will appear in another light. And here we are content that the matter should rest. A writer who, while professing himself a Protestant Christian, has no milder epithets to bestow on the doctrine of 'the class of divines called evangelical' than 'wicked' and 'absurd,' is not a man to be reasoned with upon ordinary principles.